

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

TAX CUT HOAX

Ripoff for working people,
bonanza for the rich

—PAGE 3

Will Humphrey-Hawkins put jobless back to work?

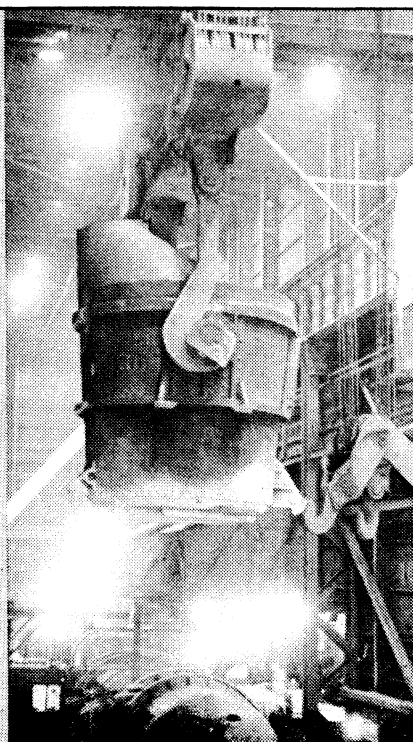
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Steel jobs & imports

The fraud of
protectionism

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Socialist candidates speak out on election issues

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95th Congress: a criminal record

Who rules America?

If anyone still harbors doubts that the answer is the superrich owners of U.S. industry and banking, they need only glance at the criminal record of the Ninety-fifth Congress. Rarely has the bipartisan gang-up against working people been more flagrant.

The *Washington Post* summed it up: "This overwhelmingly Democratic Congress chose to raise Social Security taxes while cutting the tax on capital gains. It rejected virtually every proposal put forward by organized labor; on many issues, it gave ground to business. It gave the oil companies a natural gas price deregulation bill they had sought unsuccessfully for 25 years. It willingly voted large increases in defense spending but shied away from expensive domestic initiatives. . . ."

Machinists union President William Winpinger accurately described it as "government of corporations, by corporations, and for corporations."

On virtually every issue before Congress, Democrats and Republicans joined hands to undercut the rights and living standards of most Americans, while boosting the profits and privileges of the wealthy few.

Taxes

The tax "cut" bill is a deceitful ripoff. For the big majority of working people, taxes will go up next year. Modest income tax reductions will not offset the whopping increases in Social Security taxes voted earlier this year.

Most of the tax cut benefits go to high-income taxpayers. In addition, corporate taxes were cut across the board, and the notorious tax loophole for capital gains was widened. For details see story on page 3.

Energy prices

Removal of price controls on natural gas will cost consumers an estimated \$30 billion to \$50 billion. Ironically, the bill does *not* give energy corporations an incentive to bring more gas onto the market—the supposed purpose of the plan. Just the opposite. Since the price of gas is guaranteed to steadily rise, producers have

an incentive to *withhold* gas and wait for price controls to come completely off in 1985.

War spending

The \$117.3 billion military appropriations bill is the largest in history. It includes funds for development of the neutron bomb, cruise missile, and MX missile system—three provocative U.S. escalations of the arms race. This huge drain on the country's resources means that billions are *not* being spent on health care, education, jobs, and other vital social services.

Unemployment

With official unemployment over 6 million and hidden unemployment even higher, Congress chose to cut back public service jobs under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act from 725,000 to 660,000. It also passed the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, which will not provide a single job (see page 3).

Environment

Congress enacted yet another delay in clean-air standards. Production of the life-threatening "fast breeder" nuclear reactor was given congressional mandate.

Abortion

The ban on federal funding of abortions was continued and extended to military personnel and dependents.

Union rights

In a demonstrative slap in the face of union officials, both the common situs picketing bill and a token labor law reform bill were defeated. Instead of extending political rights to federal employees, as the Democrats originally promised, Congress took a swipe at their job security through a civil service "reform" bill.

Another accomplishment of the Ninety-fifth Congress was sweeping the Koreagate scandal under the rug—a scandal implicating scores of politicians in bribery and influence-peddling.

One congressional action stands out as a victory for working people. That is extension of the deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

This victory, it should be clear, was hardly a gift from progressive-minded legislators. On the contrary, the Democratic and Republican leaderships—both formally on record for the ERA—had kept extension bottled up for months.

What made the difference was a massive outpouring of protest by supporters of women's rights—the July 9 march on Washington called by the National Organization for Women, along with other expressions of women's anger and determination.

Union participation in the July 9 march, and indications that labor would back further ERA actions, played a big role.

It was an object lesson for all those seeking progressive social change. What carried the day for the ERA was not reliance on the Democrats and Republicans, not the low-profile lobbying advised by some as "practical politics," but rather massive, independent action in the streets.

The above record offers striking proof that the much-ballyhooed "campaign finance reforms" enacted after Watergate have done nothing whatsoever to loosen corporate control over the government. Big-business domination is built into the two-party system. This fact is becoming evident to more and more people.

What most people *don't* know is that in the 1978 elections there is a working-class alternative. . . .

Socialist alternative

. . . That alternative is the slate of Socialist Workers Party candidates who are running for office in twenty-six states and the District of Columbia this year.

Next week's *Militant* will be a special election issue, featuring what the socialist candidates stand for and why you should vote for them. (See page 5.)

Socialists across the country will be taking this special issue to thousands and thousands of new readers to get out the truth about problems working people face and how we can fight back.

This big sales week is part of our drive to sell 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* this fall. We're already past the halfway mark, with 52,911 copies sold to date.

We urge all our readers to help.

Take a bundle of *Militants* to your workplace.

Join SWP candidates in campaigning and selling the socialist press at a plant gate in your area.

Sell on the campuses, in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, and at political meetings and demonstrations.

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Free the Charlotte 3

Civil rights fighters Jim Grant (left), Charles Parker, and T.J. Reddy have been railroaded back to prison in North Carolina. Their supporters plan new protests. **Page 6.**

'No money, no bunny!'

A militant strike by workers at Volkswagen's new plant in Pennsylvania shakes up corporation heads and union officials. **Page 6.**



Labor blasts anti-gay bill

California trade union leaders speak out against the anti-gay Briggs amendment, urging a 'no' vote November 7. **Page 15.**



The Militant

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The big tax hoax of 1978

By Peter Seidman

After a feverish preadjournment weekend, the Ninety-fifth Congress finally passed what it claimed was an \$18.7 billion tax cut October 15.

There is one major problem with the new measure, however. Under it, some 80 percent of taxpayers will actually wind up paying *more* in 1979 than they did in 1978!

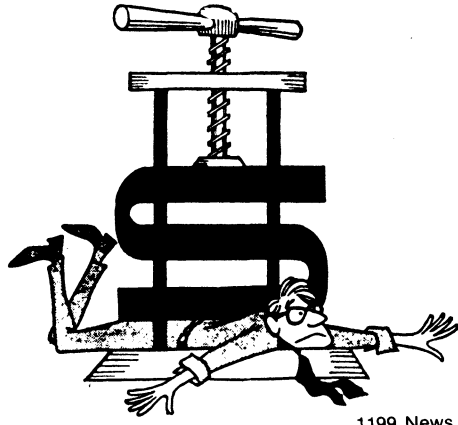
The dramatically staged last-minute vote was designed to convince working people, farmers, and small-business owners that the Democratic Party majority in the House and Senate should be returned to the public trough for another term.

But whatever short-run political gains the Democrats may be able to make will begin to evaporate as it becomes clear that only big corporations and a tiny handful of wealthy individuals will actually benefit from this latest chapter in the great American tax swindle.

According to figures published by the Treasury Department, the new legislation offers individuals some \$13.3 billion in tax cuts.

But as an October 17 editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* explains: "The taxpayers have been had again. . . . Taxes still are going up, not down."

"That, of course, is because the \$18.7 billion tax cut package Congress voted will not offset higher Social Security levies and higher personal tax rates arising from inflation. The combination of an \$8.5 billion increase in the Social Security payroll tax and a conservatively estimated \$13.5 billion boost as inflation moves Americans into higher tax brackets adds up to a net tax increase on the order of \$3.3 billion.



"That is a conservative estimate because it is based on an inflation rate of 6%. If you take into account the fact that inflation is currently 9% and shows no sign of receding . . . you can tack on a few billion more."

But these *average* figures are mis-

leading. The increase in regressive Social Security taxes will hit hardest at those with lowest incomes. As a result, their share of the tax burden will be even more disproportionately unfair than it is now.

To add insult to injury, Congress's new legislation also lowers the minimum tax levels passed in 1969. These were designed to prevent millionaires from escaping payment of taxes altogether.

(Despite this law, thirteen taxpayers with incomes greater than \$1 million still managed to crawl through loopholes and pay no taxes in 1975, the latest year for which figures are available. The new tax bill will increase this number.)

Hence, despite the politically inspired congressional hoopla over the new cuts, they are no exception to the general trend of U.S. tax legislation. More and more of the burden is being shifted off the wealthy and onto work-

ing people, small-business operators, and working farmers.

The Democratic Congress was also careful to make sure the October 15 legislation was chock-full of other new goodies for its wealthy corporate masters:

- Big business will benefit next year by some \$3.6 billion as the result of measures lowering the maximum nominal tax rate on corporations to 46 percent from the current 48 percent and liberalizing the 10 percent investment tax credit.

- Congress also voted new cuts totaling \$2.1 billion in capital gains taxes—the taxes paid on profits from the sale of property that has been held longer than one year. Some three-fourths of these benefits will go to the top 1.2 percent of all taxpayers, those with incomes greater than \$50,000.

- The bill also contains a generous scattering of special tax breaks, includ-

Continued on page 7

Socialist alternative on taxes

Across the country, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are saying it's time to put a stop to the growing burden of taxation on working people. The SWP candidates say:

- Abolish all income taxes and Social Security taxes on incomes below \$30,000. Increase the rate to 100 percent on all income above \$50,000.
- Eliminate property taxes and other taxes that hit individual homeowners, small businesses, and work-

ing farmers the hardest.

- Tax the big corporations. As a step towards closing the loopholes through which they escape paying taxes, we must force them to open their books for review by union inspection committees.

- Abolish all sales taxes.
- Abolish the war budget.
- Stop the \$6.8 billion given away through nontaxation of interest paid to the wealthy holders of state and city bonds.

- Place a 100 percent tax on the profits of polluting corporations, the war profiteers, and the profit-gouging energy trust.

Tax the rich! This is a program the whole labor movement should fight for. This is the real answer to the claims by Democratic and Republican Party politicians that "there is no money," and that working people need to fight among themselves for a shrinking pie of social services.

Humphrey-Hawkins: no hope for jobless

By Harry Ring

For the millions of jobless in this country, the new Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" law is a cruel hoax.

Virtually all media accounts describe it as a "symbolic" measure. And rightly so. The cold fact is that it won't provide a single job.

The symbolism may be useful for the politicians who hope to persuade peo-

ple that they're doing something about unemployment.

But an unemployed worker can't buy groceries or pay the rent with a "symbolic" paycheck.

The statute, which went to the White House for the president's signature October 15, sets a "goal" of reducing unemployment to 4 percent by 1983. It also calls for reducing the annual

inflation rate from the current 11.4 percent a year to 3 percent by 1983.

This offers a big escape hatch. Continuing inflation can be the handy pretext for not acting on the jobs question. A reduction in unemployment, it will be argued, will further stimulate inflation.

And that's only part of the "fine print" in the measure. In total it's like a contract drawn up by a used car dealer.

How is the "full employment" goal to be reached?

By shortening the workweek to make more jobs?

No.

By providing federal jobs for those who can't get work in private industry?

No.

Humphrey-Hawkins simply states that the president and the Congress *talk* about unemployment. It does not require that they *do* anything about it.

Each year, the president will advise Congress on economic policies which, in his opinion, will reduce unemployment. Congress, in turn, will "consider" the president's advice.

And the president can hang loose on the target date. If by 1980 he feels it isn't practical to shoot for a 4 percent unemployment rate by 1983, he can recommend postponement.

Commentators agree that the final version of Humphrey-Hawkins is highly diluted. The original was pretty watery to begin with.

First introduced in 1975 by the late Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and Rep. Augustus Hawkins, a Black California Democrat, the initial version called for a goal of 3 percent unemployment in eighteen months.

They introduced a new version in 1976 moving the target date to four years. Since then the "full" employment rate went from 3 percent to 4. And they agreed that the 4 percent figure should apply only to "adult" jobless.

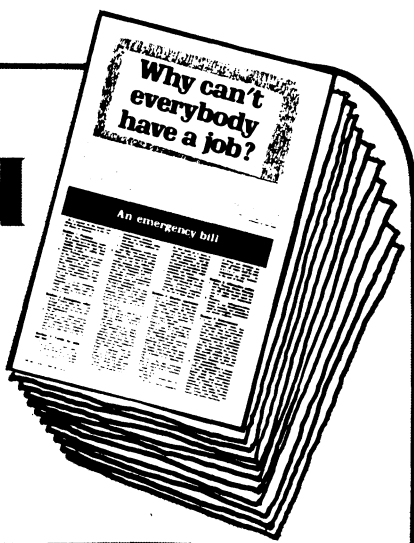
The final version was stripped down even further. At Carter's insistence, Congress eliminated any talk of launching a federal jobs program in the event private industry couldn't reach the goal.

The *Wall Street Journal*, no friend of

Continued on page 7

Help get it around

Socialist Workers Party candidates have proposed an "Emergency Bill to Provide Jobs for All." You can help distribute this bill and the accompanying article, which explains the causes and solutions to unemployment, by ordering copies (2½ cents each, 2 cents each for 1,000 or more) from the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.



Special offer to new readers

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NEXT WEEK

VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS: Special feature on the working-class alternative.

UAW HOSTS POLITICAL ACTION CONFERENCE: Can Democratic Party be reformed?

IS UPSURGE IN IRAN REACTIONARY: An answer to a reader's question.

Gov't guidelines debated

NOW discusses how to fight forced sterilization

By Diane Wang

The National Organization for Women voted at its recent conference to launch an aggressive educational and legal campaign to fight forced sterilization.

The NOW resolution calls for publicity to expose sterilization abuse, legislation to make forced sterilization a criminal offense with strictly enforced punishments, and a legal program to monitor enforcement of laws and help women press lawsuits when sterilized against their will or without their knowledge.

The resolution gives full support to the demand that each woman be given explanations about sterilization and consent forms in her native language.

Unfortunately, on the most controversial aspect of the issue, delegates voted 263 to 188 against a thirty-day waiting period between the time a woman consents to sterilization and when it is done. The thirty-day requirement has been demanded by other women's and civil rights groups as a safeguard to help curb forced sterilization. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has included the requirement in its proposed guidelines covering federally funded sterilizations.

NOW has long supported the right of women to control their own reproduc-

Future issues of the 'Militant' will continue coverage of the NOW conference discussions about forced sterilization, the labor movement, and perspectives for the women's movement.

tive lives. This is the first time, however, that it has focused national attention on the special problem of poor and oppressed minority women who are sterilized without their knowledge or consent.

Lawsuits and protests have publi-



Pam Horowitz (left) of the ACLU and Sandra Salazar of Sacramento NOW urged support for waiting period to help curb forced sterilization, as did Elisa Sánchez of the Mexican American National Women's Association when she addressed conference.



Militant/Diane Wang

cized how these women—especially Chicana, Puerto Rican, and Black women—have been coerced or tricked into being sterilized. NOW members were anxious to do something about the problem these sisters face.

The incidence of forced sterilization has been well documented:

- A study by the National Fertility Studies Office of Population Research at Princeton found that 21.7 percent of Chicanas under forty-five who are not now or have never been married were sterilized.

- About 35 percent of all women of child-bearing age in Puerto Rico have been sterilized.

- The Government Accounting Office reported that between 1973 and 1976 at least 3,406 American Indian women were sterilized. Dr. Constance Redbird Uri, a Choctaw-Cherokee doctor, estimates that 25,000 Indian women have been sterilized.

- The National Fertility Studies Office found that in 1970, 20 percent of married Black women using birth control had been sterilized—compared

with 8 percent of the white women.

Women have been pressured into sterilization by doctors or welfare case-workers. Often women have been sterilized after agreeing to it during labor. Not only were they in pain and drugged when asked; many did not understand English well enough to realize sterilization is irreversible.

The requirement for a thirty-day waiting period was discussed intensely at the NOW conference.

NOW's national minority task force distributed a position paper opposed to the waiting period. But at the minority women's workshop, participants voted fifty to twenty-four with four abstentions to support the waiting period.

The need for the waiting period was echoed in a speech to the conference by Elisa Sánchez, head of the Mexican American Women's National Association.

Sánchez urged NOW members to understand that "there are valid reasons we have for opposing immediate access to sterilization" because of the special problems Chicanas have faced.

A sterilization workshop was packed by women eager to hear a panel debate of the issue. NOW National Board members Jeane Bendorf and Jenifer Klindt spoke against the waiting period requirement. Pam Horowitz of the American Civil Liberties Union and Sandra Salazar, a Sacramento NOW member who is cochairperson of California NOW's reproductive rights task force, explained why the requirement is needed.

Bendorf and Klindt argued that the waiting period limits access to sterilization. They described it as a restriction imposed by the government to limit women's choice.

Salazar, who helped draw up the guidelines in California, explained that "these regulations were written by women for women to curb abuse by the medical industry."

Horowitz explained that in light of the way women have been pressured to sign while in labor, the waiting period is "not only consistent, but necessary, if choice is going to be not only our principle but our reality."

During the question and answer period, Gail Goldstein, who works with a feminist health group in Los Angeles, reported that in four years of counseling women about sterilization, her group had never had a case where a woman was denied access to sterilization. Rather, the problem had been protecting women from coercion and giving them full information to make their own decision.

During the debate in the general conference session on this issue, Mariana Hernández of NOW-New Jersey also stressed that forced sterilization—not access to sterilization—is the issue in defending women's right to choose.

Norreen Connell, president of NOW-New York, explained that "the women's health movement has been fighting for a waiting period for four years. Major organizations of minority women support this demand."

Forced sterilization was taken up by the national NOW conference because it has been a topic of heated debate, particularly in California and New York. California NOW had voted by a narrow margin at its state conference to oppose the waiting period, while New York State NOW had endorsed the requirement.

Because the waiting period is central to the forced sterilization fight, NOW needs a clear position in favor of the thirty-day requirement to effectively campaign around this issue.

The conference discussion was an important beginning, alerting NOW members to the issues. As women take the conference resolution back to their chapters and launch the campaign against forced sterilization, that discussion will continue.



Militant/Susan Ellis

Norreen Connell (left), president of NOW-NY, and Mariana Hernández of New Jersey NOW.

Marroquin wins support

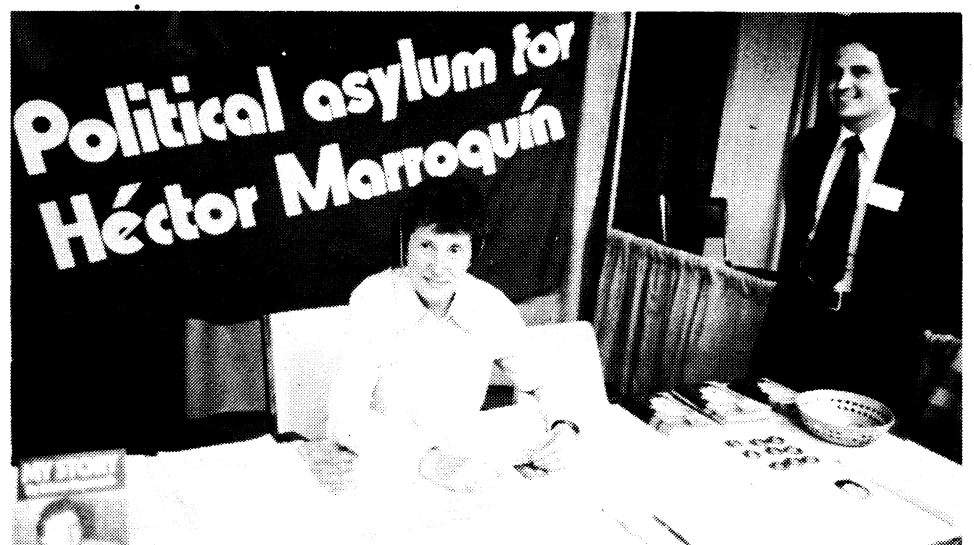
Héctor Marroquín attended the October 6-9 National Organization for Women conference. Marroquín has applied for political asylum in this country, because if he is deported to Mexico, he faces imprisonment, torture, and possible death as a result of frame-up charges of "terrorism" and "subversion."

Marroquín and several supporters distributed hundreds of copies of a special letter to NOW members, explaining his case and asking for support.

Among those who added their names to Marroquín's appeal for asylum was Dorothy Haener, international representative, United Auto Workers Women's Department. One hundred eighty-five members of NOW signed petitions to Director of Immigration Leonel Castillo urging asylum for Marroquín. Among the endorsers were several NOW chapter presidents, including Linda Thurson of Kansas City-Urban NOW, Barbara Lombardo of Cleveland NOW, and Christine Jarosz of Dallas County NOW.

For more information about the case, write the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, Post Office Box 843 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

—Jane Roland



Militant/Susan Ellis

Héctor Marroquín (right) won support of many feminists at NOW conference.

Socialists plan big election sales week

By Nelson Blackstock

Socialists in cities around the country are busy making plans for stepped-up circulation of the next issue of the *Militant*.

An election eve issue, it will give extensive coverage to the Socialist Workers Party candidates for public office and their stands on the issues. In stark contrast to the Democratic and Republican politicians, who tailor their positions to the interests of the profit-hungry corporations, the socialist candidates put forward proposals to meet the needs of working people.

The Chicago SWP, with a normal weekly quota of 450, is planning to sell 1,000 *Militants* that week.

Philadelphia, which ordinarily aims to sell 250, will shoot for sales of 600. Included in the issue will be a political analysis of how to fight the racist policies of Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo.

Also in the issue will be an article explaining the socialist stand on taxes—answering many of the questions now being talked about in the wake of Proposition 13 and similar measures. A lot of working people will be genuinely interested in what socialists have to say on this—a view different from what they've usually been hearing.

An editorial will urge readers to vote for the socialist candidates. There will be a complete list of who those candidates are and what offices they are running for.

The anti-union right-to-work law is a lively issue in some states, including Missouri, where it's on the ballot. The *Militant* will recount a good example of

how a move to get right-to-work legislation passed in Ohio in 1958 was beaten back.

Socialists will be taking this issue of the *Militant* everywhere they do political work—to plants, the Black and Latino communities, to political events. As election day approaches, the heightened interest in politics will present a fine opportunity for reaching out and finding thousands of new readers.

Katherine Sojourner of Salt Lake City says the elections have clearly been a spur to sales there this fall.

James Burfeind, SWP candidate for Congress, works at the General Electric plant in Louisville, Kentucky. At 5 a.m. on the morning of October 17, a group of Burfeind supporters campaigned among workers at the shift change. They distributed 5,000 campaign leaflets, and workers bought twenty-five copies of the *Militant*.

Similarly, Lucy Matthews, a member of the Steelworkers union and candidate for Congress, and a group of her supporters have been selling fifteen to twenty papers a week at one shift change at the Anaconda plant in Los Angeles where Matthews works.

The next issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, the biweekly Spanish-language socialist magazine, will also carry coverage of the socialist campaigns.

Why not get your own bundle of *Militants* and/or *PMs* and join in the socialist campaign? Call your order into the *Militant* circulation office. The number is (212) 929-3486. The deadline for orders is Wednesday, October 25, at 6 p.m. Eastern Standard Time.

Weekly sales goals

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
San Diego	105	162	20	20	125	182	145.6
Miami	80	107	20	28	100	135	135.0
Dallas	125	150	15	22	140	172	122.9
San Antonio	75	91	25	27	100	118	118.0
Gary, Ind.	50	57			50	57	114.0
San Jose	115	122	10	20	125	142	113.6
Albuquerque	115	125	20	25	135	150	111.1
Seattle	135	163	15	3	150	166	110.7
Minneapolis	135	149			135	149	110.4
Morgantown	125	136			125	136	108.8
Kansas City, Mo.	100	111	8	5	108	116	107.4
Los Angeles	400	429	100	100	500	529	105.8
Salt Lake City	125	139	10	3	135	142	105.2
Oakland	160	174	15	7	175	181	103.4
Tacoma	125	129			125	129	103.2
St. Paul	95	101	5	1	100	102	102.0
Berkeley	135	149	15	2	150	151	100.7
Cincinnati	100	100			100	100	100.0
Milwaukee	120	118	5	1	125	119	95.2
New York	650	655	100	55	750	710	94.7
Philadelphia	235	230	25	15	260	245	94.2
Atlanta	200	181		2	200	183	91.5
San Francisco	250	218	25	23	275	241	87.6
Pittsburgh	145	123	5	3	150	126	84.0
Louisville	100	81			100	81	81.0
New Orleans	140	121	10		150	121	80.7
Toledo	115	92	5	4	120	96	80.0
Phoenix	110	91	15	8	125	99	79.2
Raleigh	125	99			125	99	79.2
Indianapolis	115	90			115	90	78.3
Portland	90	70			90	70	77.8
Baltimore	120	96	5		125	96	76.8
Chicago	385	301	65	42	450	343	76.2
Detroit	250	190			250	190	76.0
Cleveland	115	86	5		120	86	71.7
Tucson	30	20		1	30	21	70.0
Boston	225	152	25	22	250	174	69.6
St. Louis	140	100	10		150	100	66.7
Iron Range, Mn.	50	32			50	32	64.0
Washington, D.C.	270	162	30	27	300	189	63.0
Newark	140	86	10	5	150	91	60.7
Houston	300	184	50	5	350	189	54.0
Albany	100	51	5	1	105	52	49.5
TOTALS	6820	6223	673	477	7493	6700	89.4

Figures for issue 38 of 'Militant' and last week of 'PM' issue 18. Denver not reporting this week.

Plight of the poor—and the rich

By Harry Ring

Three recent articles in the *Los Angeles Times* reminded me, once more, why you need a socialist press—and a socialist revolution. Not to speak of the money to help finance both.

The first article was written September 23 on the eve of the joint meeting of the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The information in the article was a damning indictment of world capitalism. The article was buried in the financial section.

A follow-up column in the editorial section offered a rather tepid, liberal critique of the World Bank.

The story in the financial section was headlined, "IMF, World Bank Fear Dangers of World Poverty."

It said that unless solutions are forthcoming, "millions more people in the world will be plunged into absolute poverty."

It added: "Experts estimate there are around 600 million people at present on the absolute poverty level—that is, not getting enough to eat for basic nutrition, with no medical services or prospects for education, and a life expectancy of 35 to 40 years."

The column criticizing the World Bank did offer some useful facts. For example, the fact that the great bulk of loans to poor countries goes to a handful of the wealthy who use the money to increase their wealth and, in the process, inflict even greater misery on the poor.

The article does not explain, of course, that this isn't simply a problem of myopia on the part of the World Bank. It's the nature of imperialism.

Quite simply, the only way those 600 million poor people—imagine, 600 million poor in the space age!—can improve their lot is through land reform and industrial development.

But such a revolutionary process poses an immediate threat to world imperialism. Which is why the imperialists are so stubborn about keeping the poor poor.

But, what about the plight of the rich?

Marlene Cimonis of the paper's Washington Bureau writes the rather touching story of Rob Martin, a young man who made good despite the odds.

Martin's trouble began when he came into a million dollars and felt ashamed.

He bought a \$25,000 sailboat. He got married and divorced. Then, he bought an \$87,000 boat.

Still miserable.

Then came the turning point. Martin realized he was not alone. Others were suffering the same plight. He started a consciousness-raising seminar for people who are rich and can't cope.

People talk out their problems.

"I want it to be OK to have money."

"I want to have fun with my money without feeling guilty."

"I want it to be easy for me to say no to people when they ask me for money."

Martin feels his seminars are helping these people. Soon he intends to start drawing a salary.

And he offers seminar members a clear perspective: "I don't want this organization to be one that gives away money to poor, starving folks. I'm not into giving money away. I'm into educating people about what it's like to have it."

Yes indeed. And in good time those 600 million-plus poor people will teach him how to get along with a bit less.

To help speed the day, clip the coupon and send a contribution to our \$75,000 birthday fund.

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Supreme Court turns deaf ear

Charlotte 3 back in prison

By Doug Clark

RALEIGH, N.C.—Two of the Charlotte Three returned to prison October 17 after the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review their case.

Earlier, supporters of the three called for a protest at the state capitol here October 28 to demand justice in the case. The call was issued at an October 10 press conference featuring defendant Jim Grant.

The Charlotte Three—Jim Grant, T.J. Reddy, and Charles Parker—were convicted in 1972 of burning a Charlotte stable four years earlier. In 1967 Parker and Reddy had participated in desegregating the stable.

Despite a complete lack of evidence against them, Parker got ten years, Reddy twenty, and Grant twenty-five. They were convicted by a jury from which Blacks and Jews had been systematically excluded.

The trial judge made no secret of his dislike for the defendants. He referred to them as "overeducated revolutionaries."

A subsequent investigation by the *Charlotte Observer* revealed that the two star prosecution witnesses, who supposedly took part in the crime, received \$4,000 each from the federal government. Neither spent any time in jail.

Amnesty International has adopted the Charlotte Three as prisoners of conscience.

Grant, Parker, and Reddy had been out of prison on appeal. Parker had been returned to prison earlier on another charge.

"The only reason that we have been able to spend as much time out from



Participants in Charlotte Three press conference (left to right): Ruth Costen, International League for Peace and Freedom; Jean Wagner, North Carolina Coalition to Free the Wilmington Ten; Rev. Harriot Quinn, United Church of Christ; Dr. Jim Grant, Charlotte Three defendant; Rev. Leon White, Commission for Racial Justice; Ernestine Clark.

behind the bars and walls has been because of the support of the people," Grant said at the news conference.

"The struggle will continue of course."

Grant noted that the Charlotte Three have won the backing of Connecticut Gov. Ella Grasso, who has called on North Carolina Gov. James Hunt to pardon the three.

Soviet human rights activist Valentin Turchin, now in exile in the United States, sent a message to the news

conference: "At a time when concern for human rights is being voiced by heads of state, and when public opinion is more and more being brought to bear to end cases of political persecution, all who are involved in human rights causes throughout the world must speak out in support of freedom for the Charlotte Three and demand that North Carolina Gov. James Hunt, who has the power to save these three young men from years of imprisonment, grant the Charlotte Three a full pardon of innocence."

Alabama Black sentenced to thirty years

By Arnold Weissberg

In a decision reminiscent of the lynch-mob justice of the 1930s, an all-white jury in Cullman, Alabama, has convicted twenty-five-year-old Black Tommy Lee Hines of raping three white women. The October 13 verdict resulted in a thirty-year sentence.

Hines is severely retarded and has a mental age of about six. Not only does this completely invalidate the "confession" cops forced out of Hines, but it also makes it impossible for him to have done some of the things he was charged with, such as driving a rape victim's car.

"It's not shocking to me at all," John Nettles, Southern Christian Leadership Conference southeast regional director, told the *Militant* in a telephone interview. "We are convinced that Tommy Lee Hines is innocent of the charges, but we are in Alabama. That damn praise about the New South is a lot of bull."

Nettles said that an appeal was under way, and that noted civil liberties attorney Howard Moore had agreed to be part of the defense legal team.

"I think it's going to take more than litigation," Nettles added. He said SCLC would organize an economic boycott of Decatur, where Hines lived and was arrested, as well as a series of marches and pickets.

The jury's decision followed months of provocations by the Ku Klux Klan, which mustered as many as 2,000 people to demonstrate "in support of the judicial system of Decatur and Morgan County."

Attempts by Blacks to mobilize in support of Hines were threatened by armed Klan members, while cops stood by.

In case that wasn't enough, the police released Hines's picture to the newspapers before the trial. Not surprisingly, one rape victim declared at the trial she could positively identify Hines—even though he was supposed to have been wearing a bag over his head at the time she was attacked.

"The judge, with his antagonistic attitude, left no doubt as to which way he would have ruled had he had the authority," Nettles commented. For example, the judge overruled a motion by defense attorney Henry Mims to suppress Hines's "confession."

"I feel if it were not for the presence of SCLC in Cullman, the boy would have gotten the electric chair," Nettles said. "The eyes of the nation were upon Cullman, and they were not allowed to do out in the open what they would have done in the darkness without the press."

"We're tired of this kind of oppression, and we are just going to have to raise holy hell until justice prevails in this case."

Nettles said financial contributions for defense work are badly needed. Checks can be made payable to SCLC, earmarked for the Tommy Lee Hines defense, and sent to SCLC, 334 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

VW strike jolts bosses, UAW tops

By Brett Merkey

NEW STANTON, Pa.—After a back-to-work blitz by United Auto Workers international officers and the local media, auto workers at Volkswagen's first U.S. plant here decided on October 14 to end their six-day strike.

The strikers voted to return to work—699 to 390—only after union officials in Detroit had promised to renegotiate a better contract within the month or call another strike. Workers had rejected the original proposal October 8 by a 1,235 to 95 vote.

The New Stanton walkout has received national and international attention as a barometer of the fighting mood of American workers.

The strike was in response to contract proposals far below standards won by Big Three auto workers. The proposals called for the VW workers to wait three years before receiving equitable wages. The New Stanton workers would also be shortchanged on vacation time and layoff benefits, as well as

subjected to forced overtime.

The overwhelming contract rejection was a "real shocker," admitted UAW President Douglas Fraser.

On October 5 the union and company had issued a joint press release congratulating themselves on "reaching a tentative settlement comparable to the U.S. automotive industry."

"We believe that the Volkswagen settlement will set an excellent example for other foreign auto manufacturers who may open manufacturing or assembly operations in the United States," they said.

And set an example it did—but not the one VW and UAW officials intended.

"The Volkswagen strike is quite upsetting to us," said a vice-president of Japan's Nissan Motor Company.

"If [U.S. workers] ask to get even with General Motors and Ford right away, I'm afraid no company will come here," said another Japanese source.

He added "If [UAW leaders] can't control their rank and file, how can they expect us to come here?"

The UAW officials tried. They backed the contract down the line, refusing to sanction the walkout and denying the workers strike benefits.

And VW had made every effort to find a docile work force in this steel and mining center. Forty thousand people were screened to fill 2,000 jobs.

"But in the process," complained the *Wall Street Journal*, Volkswagen hired many articulate workers steeped in traditions of unionism. . . . Moreover, the workers here show little regard for the union's tradition of discipline when it comes to strikes."

Before waiting for strike authorization from Detroit, the VW workers threw up mass picket lines, locking the plant up tight.

"No money, no bunny," workers shouted on the picket lines in defiance of union officials, court orders, and company scare tactics.

"If VW thought it could pay slave wages, it should have gone down south," said a former member of the United Mine Workers. "The UAW treated us like schoolchildren" by keeping the negotiations secret, said another striker.

Pressure on the strikers peaked October 13 when Cecil Hampton, UAW Region 2A assistant director, launched a public attack on the strike leaders, labelling them "communist elements." While Hampton raged against the strikers, the courts moved into action, outlawing mass pickets.

Although the VW workers are back at their jobs, their militant strike has put both the company and UAW Solidarity House on notice. "We aren't second-class citizens," said one striker. And he and his co-workers are unlikely to settle for a second-class contract one month from now.



Workers flex their muscles

Strike wave hits shah's regime

By Parvin Najafi

The working people of Iran have responded to the shah's martial law with a powerful strike movement that has paralyzed more than forty cities. The wave of strikes began October 3 when employees of the National Bank of Iran walked out; before noon every bank in the country had been shut down.

In the next few days the strikes spread like wildfire, closing down telecommunications, the post and telegraph, the railroads, bus service, the airlines, and radio and television.

Industrial workers put their massive power behind the strikes. Those who walked out included the 70,000 production workers at the giant Khuzestan oil fields, 30,000 workers at the big steel mill in Isfahan, 30,000 workers in the Beshar Industrial Group, 7,000 agricultural workers at the giant agribusiness complex in Ahwaz, 2,000 copper miners in Sarcheshmeh, several thousand textile workers at different cities, and countless others in smaller industries across the country.

All elementary and secondary schools and all institutions of higher learning have been closed by a joint strike of students and teachers. Several government ministries have been shut tight by striking employees. Courts were closed and trials had to be suspended as Justice Ministry personnel went on strike. In most of the state-owned hospitals, the medical staffs and hospital workers walked out.

Strike against censorship

The programs of the radio and television networks were repeatedly interrupted after the employees of the Ministry of Information walked out. (The radio and television stations are government owned and are under the direction of the Ministry of Information.)

On October 10, 4,000 employees of Tehran's major dailies, *Kayhan* and *Ettela'at*, went out on strike to protest censorship. The walkout took place after General Ovasi, the military governor of Tehran, sent a colonel into each editorial office to review all material intended for publication.

Journalists at both papers refused to show their articles to the officers and instead "downed their pens." They were backed solidly by all the workers of the huge printshops affiliated with the two papers. Representatives of the strikers said they will stay out until censorship is lifted.

Most of the strikes have had a similar political overtone. The nationwide strike of university students was called to demand the lifting of martial law imposed on September 8, freedom for political prisoners, and the right to hold antigovernment demonstrations. The striking teachers are also demanding the lifting of martial law and the release of political prisoners.

In the factories, the workers are putting forward a combination of economic and political demands. Most of the economic demands center around higher pay and the government's responsibility to provide decent housing. In many instances, the striking workers have also demanded an end to the military atmosphere inside the plants and an end to martial law.

Street demonstrations

Alongside the strikes, massive street demonstrations have occurred in more than thirty cities, including Baneh, Kerman, Shahr Kord, Arak, Sari, Dezful, Zanjan, Lahijan, Tabriz, Tehran, Yazd, Shareza, Borujerd, Behbahan, and Khashan. The biggest protests occurred in Amol and Babol, on the coast of the Caspian Sea; and in Khorra-



SHAH: Finding repression doesn't always work

mabad and Sandaj, two Kurdish towns in the west of Iran.

The police response in several areas was to repeat the bloodbath of September 8. Eyewitnesses reported more than 1,000 killed in Sandaj alone. But despite this savagery, the masses continued to pour into the streets.

The current mobilization erupted less than a month after the imposition of martial law and the gunning down of thousands in the streets of Tehran. That massacre was intended to break the will of the majority of Iranians to resist. Clearly the regime has failed on this count, for martial law has only fueled further mass mobilizations.

The participation of the working class in the September demonstrations was the decisive factor that changed their size from protests of tens of thousands to protests of millions. But in September the workers participated as individuals. Today they have taken to the field of battle as a class.

A higher stage

With the entry of the working class into the struggle, the movement against the shah's tyranny has entered a new and higher stage. The workers are participating in the struggle against autocracy not just as one of the classes of bourgeois society, but as the leaders of the whole nation. By their participation, they bring with them a higher level of organization and cohesiveness. In fact, they have already put their stamp on the mass movement.

For example, before this strike wave the population took to the streets without any organization and without even official representatives to speak in their names. The religious leaders filled the void in this situation.

But as soon as the workers went on strike they immediately elected repre-

sentatives to speak for them. They made sure that these representatives were backed up adequately to prevent the government from victimizing them. Speaking in their own names, the workers of different factories issued statements explaining their strikes and setting forth their demands. This is new to the mass movement in Iran, and has already begun to push the religious leaders into the background.

Masses sense their power

At the same time, the strike movement has had a tremendous effect on the consciousness of the masses. Until now the only weapon the mass movement had used against the shah's regime was street demonstrations, and the masses saw their power as residing only in their great numbers. But now, through the wave of strikes, they are becoming aware of the greater power they possess. They turn the wheels of the economy. Nothing can move in the whole country without their consent.

With its back against the wall, the regime has granted almost all strikers a 100 percent wage increase, trimming the military budget to cover the cost. This wage increase by itself is an encouragement to all other workers to go on strike.

However, the success or failure of the strikes should not be measured so much by the economic benefits won, but by how much they consolidate the organization of the workers and force the ruling class to recognize their right to organize.

At present the Iranian working class has no trade unions, action committees, or any other form of ongoing organization whatsoever. Building a centralized, democratic, and powerful trade union is the challenge that faces the workers of Iran in the weeks and months ahead.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

...taxes

Continued from page 3

ing a provision granting a break to the heirs of the Gallo wine estate. It also preserves special tax breaks for multinational corporations and extravagant business entertaining (the "three-martini lunch").

President Carter originally threatened to veto both the August 10 House and September 27 Senate versions of the current bill.

Hoping to appear as a partisan of tax relief, Carter opposed the \$16.3 billion House version, which had been warmly praised by the Business Round Table and bitterly denounced by the AFL-CIO.

But Carter also opposed the more expensive \$29 billion Senate version, which offered a few more breaks to working people. He complained that this bill would create an inflationary budget deficit.

The October 15 compromise tax bill combines the worst features of both its prototypes. The final measure claims to trim the inflationary impact of the Senate version by getting rid of the urgently needed tax relief the senators promised those with lower incomes. But it leaves intact the House's outrageous handouts to the wealthy.

...jobs

Continued from page 3

full employment, commented sardonically of the original, "The Humphrey-Hawkins bill is to unemployment what the WIN button was to inflation."

The worst part of it is that jobs are more urgently needed every day.

This was indicated by the Labor Department announcement that between August and September the unemployment rate moved up again, from 5.9 percent to 6.

The rate for Black workers was more than double that of whites—11.2 percent as against 5.3 percent.

Official teenage unemployment increased from 15.6 percent to 16.6.

Meanwhile, Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican teenagers suffer a jobless rate of nearly 40 percent.

It's not precise to say that Congress limited itself to abstractions in dealing with unemployment. It did do something concrete.

It cut back the number of CETA jobs.

Congress agreed October 10 to extend the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act for four years.

But it cut the number of CETA jobs from 725,000 to about 660,000.

What's really needed to combat unemployment is the emergency job bill proposed by the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. That bill would:

- Provide unemployment compensation at union scale for all those without jobs.

- Take the present \$126 billion war budget and use it to finance a public works program to clean up and rebuild this country.

- Reduce the workweek to thirty hours, with no reduction in pay.

- Institute a program of affirmative action quotas to end discrimination in hiring, training, and promotion for women, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans.

The right to a job is fundamental. And a system that cannot provide jobs to millions of people—particularly when there is so much useful work to be done—is a bankrupt system.

It stands as a powerful argument against capitalism and for socialism.

Missouri referendum

Who's behind 'right to work'?

By Harry Ring

Currently, there are twenty states that ban the union shop under so-called right-to-work laws. All are in the South and West. All, except perhaps Texas, have relatively small union movements.

Now working people face a "right to work" challenge in a twenty-first state.

And this is one with a difference.

Union busters have succeeded in placing a "right to work" proposition on the November ballot in Missouri.

There are a lot of union members in Missouri.

St. Louis, for example, is a highly industrialized city. Steel is fabricated there. Auto parts are assembled and electrical equipment manufactured. The city is a rail and trucking center.

A good percentage of workers in these industries are unionized.

St. Louis is sometimes described as the gateway to the North. A victory for the open-shoppers in Missouri would surely whet their appetite to try to penetrate the North.

The 'radical' right

Until recently, the public campaign for RTW laws was pushed mainly by small reactionary groups dubbed variously as the "new right" and the "radical right." These groups were so blatant about their union-busting aims that most big industrialists tended to look on them as somewhat ineffective fringe-group allies.

But today a growing number of big employers are openly joining in.

For decades, the major U.S. industries have been compelled to live with large-scale unionization.

But they never liked it.

Today, they see an opportunity to deliver some crippling blows to the unions.

And their growing economic difficulties motivate them even more to do so.

On a global scale, the capitalist market is shrinking. International competition has intensified, to the disadvantage of U.S. capitalism.

To cope with the enormous consequences of this development, America's ruling class has gone on a drive to reduce wages, increase hours, worsen working conditions, and take back a variety of hard-won social benefits. To cut back on these gains means trying to break the back of the unions.

Escalating war

So, in growing numbers, the bosses are putting resources behind a variety of antiunion efforts. These include "right to work," runaway shops, decertification of unions, and open strikebreaking.

Until recently, the RTW ball was carried by the National Right to Work Committee, a relatively small but well-heeled gang of union haters.

Today, its efforts are being buttressed by such groups as the Council for a Union Free Environment.

The council is a subsidiary of the National Association of Manufacturers. It was created by NAM President R. Heath Larry.

As vice-president of U.S. Steel, it was Larry who worked out the 1973 deal with the officialdom of the United Steelworkers for an "Experimental Negotiating Agreement."

Under ENA, the USWA bureaucrats sacrificed the strike weapon for a promise of "harmonious" relations between the steel magnates and the union.

With that accomplishment under his belt, Larry proceeded to the business of open union busting.

And the hard fact is that Larry and his big-business cohorts are making progress.

For the first time, unions are reportedly losing more representation elections than they're winning.

In a number of plants, the Council for a Union Free Environment has been instrumental in winning decertification of established unions through National Labor Relations Board elections.

There has been a big increase in the number of companies setting up nonunion shops in the South.

At a number of plants, unions have been forced on strike and then broken by company use of injunctions, goons, and scabs.

One recent example was the defeat suffered by the United Steelworkers at the Hussmann Refrigerator plant in St. Louis. Hussmann is a subsidiary of the



Militant/Bob Allen
St. Louis unionists put focus of this year's Labor Day parade on the fight to defeat 'right to work' ripoff.

Pet Corporation. Its victory over the union undoubtedly encouraged the efforts to put the RTW proposition on the Missouri ballot.

Some union officials see this turn to open union busting by the big companies as a "betrayal" of a commitment to collaborate with the unions—a commitment they seem to believe was actually made.

Reluctant to face the reality of the present gloves-off stance of the employers, the union officials stubbornly point to the "radical right" as the "instigator."

This past summer, the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department convened a two-day symposium on the growing threat of the "new right."

William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, said that "this army of the radical right" opposes health and safety regulations for workers, equal rights for women and minorities, national health insurance, adequate welfare, etc.

If that's all it takes to qualify for membership in the "radical right," then just about every employer in the country is eligible. They all oppose these things and more. They always have.

True, they haven't always been quite as up front about it as they are today. There were periods when they had to bide their time.

Tried to thwart CIO

When the massive working-class rebellion of the 1930s created the CIO, the corporations tried unsuccessfully to break it, but most finally recognized they had to live with it—at least for awhile.

At the end of the Second World War, the employers forced major strikes, again in the hope of breaking the unions.

Again they failed.

That was when they decided that organized labor in America was too strong to be broken in direct contest.

They turned to the government.

In the atmosphere of the developing cold war, the

Democrats and Republicans joined in passing the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947. Through a web of regulations, this law fastened serious restrictions on the unions. To this day, labor is paying the price.

One section of Taft-Hartley—the notorious Section 14B—gives states the green light to pass laws banning the union shop. Such laws make it illegal for a union to obtain a contract requiring that all workers hired by the employer become union members.

The employers call them "right to work" laws. But if truth in advertising applied, the label would be banned as pure fraud. "Right to work" doesn't provide anyone a job—only the "right" to work for less.

Other Taft-Hartley provisions created a maze of election and arbitration procedures, "cooling off" restrictions on the right to strike, plus presidential power to break major strikes deemed injurious to the "national interest."

Serious damage

Since passage of Taft-Hartley, there has been a significant deterioration of union strength. In 1945, for example, 36 percent of nonagricultural workers were organized. Today, the figure has dropped to 23 percent.

But while Taft-Hartley has undoubtedly contributed to this decline, the decisive factor has been the default of the labor officialdom to mobilize union power against attacks on working people—including against Taft-Hartley.

From the beginning, the union misleaders have sought peace with the employers. Throughout they have looked to capitalist politicians to establish and enforce that peace. Rather than rely on the strength of the workers to resist employer attacks, they have looked to the Democratic Party to bring the employers to the table, in a reasonable mood.

The results have been devastating.

The Democratic Party is directly responsible for Taft-Hartley. A series of strikebreaking injunctions by Harry Truman laid the basis for key features of the act. It was adopted by a Congress with a Democratic majority. Truman demagogically vetoed it and then—after his veto was overridden—turned around and used it against strikers more than any other president since then.

Meanwhile, the union bureaucrats kept hoping and promising. Each new Democratic administration was going to repeal Taft-Hartley—or at least "reform" it.

The most recent such hope was the Carter administration.

That's proven a poor joke.

While running for office, Carter indicated he would back union proposals for labor law reform, including repeal of the lethal RTW Section 14B.

In office, Carter explained that this really wasn't practical. To get it through Congress, repeal of 14B would have to be dropped from the reform package.

Wrong number

The rest of the reform package remains stalled in the Senate and will probably die there. When the union officials call, Carter doesn't answer the phone.

This is really why the union officials keep pointing the finger of shame at the "radical right." It would be an admission of political bankruptcy for them to state the reality: The present antiunion drive is not being sparked by some diabolically effective right-wing movement. It comes from the entire capitalist class and its twin parties—the Republicans and Democrats.

In Missouri, the employers and their hired hucksters gathered a claimed 161,000 signatures to put the right-to-scab proposition on the November ballot.

Recognizing the danger, Missouri labor announced a drive to defeat the proposition.

Will they succeed?

It would be foolish to say it won't be a hard fight. But it can be won.

How?

Next week, we'll discuss how it was done when the "right to work" forces suffered their biggest defeat ever.

That was in Ohio, and it was twenty years ago. But the lessons of that labor victory are entirely relevant for Missouri today.



Militant/Nancy Cole

HARLAN COUNTY COAL STRIKE

Union president explains the stakes

By Nancy Cole

EVARTS, Ky.—Gerald Cornette knows what the United Mine Workers has meant for coal miners—union and nonunion alike—in southeastern Kentucky.

And he knows that coal operators—union and nonunion alike—continue to yearn for the UMWA's demise.

Cornette is president of his UMWA local at the Jericol mine in Glenbrook, Kentucky. Miners there have been on strike since UMWA members nationwide walked off the job in December 1977.

Jericol Mining, Inc., is not part of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association. It refused to sign the industry-wide agreement reached at the end of March.

Since then, Cornette explained in a recent interview with the *Militant*, the company has begun hiring scabs, escorting them across the picket line in armored trucks.

The Glenbrook strike is one of several here in Harlan County and right across the border in Virginia. The fate of these miners fighting to save their union is closely tied to that of miners west of here in Stearns, Kentucky, striking for UMWA recognition.

The specific contract that Jericol is proposing would reduce the UMWA local at Glenbrook to less than a company union, with no power over working conditions and job rights.

The proposal includes a company-appointed safety committee, a pension plan that excludes those who retired before 1973, a sixty-day probationary period, a production incentive plan, a strict "absenteeism" control plan, and a no-strike clause.

Jericol's owners, Charles and James Sigmon, claim they want only to improve "productivity" and cut down on "excessive absenteeism."

But their real goal becomes clear when you study the contract offer. To begin with, explains Cornette, "there are two or three places where the company can fire you.

"If they find out you're militant, if you speak out against them, you're gone."

Fired three times

Cornette has worked at the mine five years, and during that time he was fired three times. The union got his job back each time.

"I had to go to the district. Our own local union here was more company than anything. That changed when we took office over a year ago."

A new slate of officers and a new mine safety committee was elected—"a bunch of young fellows," notes Cornette.

That would come to an end, of course, with the company's plan to appoint the safety committee. "You know how it is," says Cornette, "you can always pick some guy that would rather have a pat on the back."

The miner who cooperates with the company, under Jericol's contract, would be likely to get more than a pat

on the back. The contract gives the company the right to fill job openings with whomever it likes.

As for productivity, Charles Sigmon said during a court hearing that the 130 UMWA miners before the strike produced about 3,000 tons of coal a day. "That is way above the national average," says Cornette. "But now Sigmon says the statement was taken out of context, that he doesn't know how much the union miners produced."

In the next breath, however, Sigmon does know that the scabs now working at the mine are twice as productive as the UMWA miners were.

"He doesn't know how much we produced before the strike, but whatever it was, the scabs produce twice as much now," Cornette declares, noticeably pleased to have caught the company in such a blatant lie.

According to the UMWA local president, Jericol employs no women and only two Blacks, who were hired back in the 1960s. He is sure though that Blacks and women have applied and been rejected by the company.

He tells how a nurse he knew wanted him to get an application for her.

"The superintendent told me, 'Don't give her that damned application, because if you bring a woman up here and we have to hire her, you're going to have to work with her.'"

"I said that's all right as long as people pull their end of the work, I don't care."

Union at stake

Cornette believes this strike at Glenbrook is important for unionism in general and for southeastern Kentucky coal miners in particular.

"Right now we have Brookside, U.S. Steel at Lynch, about six UMWA mines that I can think of around here in this district.

"These people who were in [union office] before sat back on their rear ends and just let the companies push the union out."

Under the corrupt regime of UMWA International President Tony Boyle, Cornette recalls, the attitude toward the coal operators was, "You pay the royalties [to the health and pension funds], and we'll forget about the rest of it."

Cornette was active in Miners for Democracy, the movement of rank-and-file miners that finally ousted Boyle at the end of 1972.

"I read an article the other day, some guy talking about nonunion workers and how people are getting disenchanted with unions. I can't understand it," the union activist goes on.

"I think some coal miners in southeastern Kentucky have forgotten what it was like in the 1950s. Some of the younger people don't realize what went on without labor unions."

When the market for coal plummeted, Cornette explains, a lot of union

mines closed down. Others seized the chance to kick out the union and union militants.

Cornette's father had been a union miner but found himself blackballed. "He finally did get a job. It was at one of those 'dog hole' mines—that's what we called them—and he was working for nothing. The guy told him, 'I'm going to give you a job, but we got your name down, and we don't want no mention of no union.'"

Benefits all miners

"People don't realize what the union has done for all miners. Take this so-called Southern Labor Union. The guys up at Highsplint [an SLU mine] told me during the last contract talks, 'Boys, I hope you get \$100 a day, because if you all get \$100, we're going to get \$105 or \$110.'"

The nonunion mines, including those with company unions like the SLU, pay wages close to union scale to keep the UMWA out. They more than make up the cost by running the mine for maximum production with no regard for safety.

"Then there's black lung," Cornette says. "There wouldn't be any black lung [benefits legislation] if the union hadn't fought for it.

"You don't ever get any safety laws unless you have a Mannington disaster or a Farmington disaster."

Glenbrook miners aim to avoid any such slaughters at their mine by saving the union and the union contract.



Militant/Nancy Cole

CORNETTE: 'People don't realize what the union has done for all miners.'

Support Glenbrook miners!

"When America gets around to recognizing the tremendous contribution that organized labor has made to what is right and decent in this country, monuments will be built," reads a letter sent to the Glenbrook strikers from Jan Pierce, assistant vice-president of the Communications Workers of America District 1 in New York City.

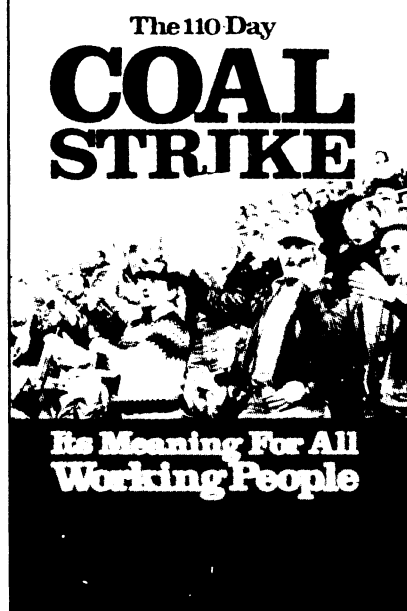
"You, the brave members of United Mine Workers 8771 and your families, are examples of the real heroes in the union movement," the letter continues. "You are fighting the good fight without much publicity and without getting the real

credit that is due to people who will give their all to keep the union going."

CWA District 1 has contributed more than \$12,000, plus food and clothing, to the Glenbrook strikers. They need to know that other working people around the country are also behind them. And Jericol Mining, Inc., needs to know it too.

One measure of support will be the October 28 rally in support of the Glenbrook strikers at Louellen Lake in Harlan County.

Send messages of support and contributions to: Glenbrook Miners Relief Fund, Box 119, Closplint, Kentucky 40927.



The 110-Day Coal Strike

By Nancy Cole and Andy Rose

40 pages. Single copies 75 cents. Discount of 25 percent on orders of five or more.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include 50 cents for postage.

Demand amnesty for prisoners

Mexico: 'October 2 will not be forgotten!'

By Roberto Flores

MEXICO CITY—The massive march of more than 50,000 workers and students extended for miles through the center of the city. At 6:10 p.m., it stopped. The tens of thousands of demonstrators observed a minute of silence, marking the exact moment when, ten years earlier, the army opened fire in Tlatelolco Plaza, killing some 500 students.

Then, in unison, one heard the demands: "October 2 will not be forgotten!"; "Free the political prisoners—general amnesty!"; and "Present the disappeared!"

In this way, on October 2, the tenth anniversary of the massacre of Tlatelolco was commemorated.

The imposing demonstration, which one student characterized as an act "of struggle, not of mourning," was organized by the National Representative Commission (CNR) to demand a general amnesty for political prisoners and the presentation of the hundreds of "disappeared," activists who have been kidnapped by the police and whose whereabouts are unknown.

The CNR, composed of political, trade-union, students, and popular organizations, held the demonstration despite the promulgation of an amnesty law by the government a few days earlier. The massive turnout at the demonstration also followed a scare campaign set loose by the capitalist press, which speculated about "provocations" and "possible confrontations." But such tactics did not deter the marchers due to the general scepticism about the amnesty law promoted by President José López Portillo.

Up to now, 111 political prisoners in Mexico City, and a few more elsewhere, have been freed under the new law. Eight political exiles have been authorized to return to the country.

Those who are supposed to have participated, directly or indirectly, in "acts of violence" are not covered by the law. In addition, the decision of who will benefit is left in the hands of



More than 50,000 turned out for Mexico City demonstration

Militant/Barry Fatland

the government itself.

Meanwhile, there are hundreds of political prisoners throughout the country, dozens of exiles who have no guarantee of a safe return, and the many "disappeared," about whom nothing has been said.

A broad range of organizations joined to build the October 2 demonstration. There were high school and university students represented, groups of residents from working-class neighborhoods and suburbs, feminist organizations and contingents of lesbians and homosexuals, numerous independent trade unions, and left-wing parties. Among the latter was the Revolutionary Workers Party, sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

The march was headed by some of the leaders of the student movement of 1968 such as Raúl Alvarez Garín, Gilberto Guevara Niebla, and Eduardo del Valle, as well as by leaders of political parties and Rosario Ibarra de Piedra of the Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared," and Exiled. The protest culminated with a rally in the Plaza of the Three Cultures in Tlatelolco.

It took almost an hour for the col-

umn of demonstrators to enter the huge plaza. Once more, the crowd maintained a minute of silence. From the bell tower of the church of Santiago Tlatelolco, illuminated with bright red lights, the bells tolled for those who had fallen ten years ago.

Alvarez Garín spoke as a representative of the student movement of 1968. He gave an account of what had occurred ten years earlier, saying that today "democracy continues to be obstructed."

Ricardo Pascoe, leader of the Independent Union of the Autonomous University of Mexico, spoke for the

trade unionists. Rosario Ibarra de Piedra urged workers and peasants to unite in the struggle for a general amnesty and for the presentation of the disappeared. She denounced the government's amnesty law as partial and inadequate.

October 2 was also commemorated in other Mexican cities. An action of 10,000 took place in Monterrey; 3,000 rallied in Guadalajara; and a march and rally of 5,000 took place in Culiacán. Actions also took place in Puebla, Orizaba, Cuernavaca, Morelia, Querétaro, and Oaxaca.

—From *Perspectiva Mundial*

Piedra tour schedule

Due to recent developments in the fight against political repression in Mexico, Rosario Ibarra de Piedra will not begin her speaking tour of the United States for several weeks.

Meanwhile, her daughter, Maria Piedra Ibarra, will be touring in her stead. Maria Piedra is also a leader of the Mexican Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared," and Exiled.

The tour is being organized by the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. Some of the next stops are:

Cincinnati	Oct. 20-22
Louisville/ Lexington	Oct. 23-24
Chicago/ Champaign-Urbana	Oct. 25-29
St. Louis	Oct. 30-31

Marroquin begins national tour in New Orleans

By Rich Golub

NEW ORLEANS—Héctor Marroquín kicked off his nationwide speaking tour here September 28. He was the featured speaker at an "Evening for Human Rights in the Americas" at Tulane University.

The meeting was cosponsored by the Latin American Institute, Latin Ameri-

can Student Association, and Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee.

"One year has gone by" since his request for political asylum, Marroquín told the audience. "And still the U.S. government refuses to grant this basic human right."

"Why do they refuse to grant me this right? Why, instead, did they imprison

me for more than three months? Why did they deny me the right to work in this country?"

"There is one very simple reason," Marroquín explained.

"Washington is not willing to protect the lives and freedom of the very same people it is helping to slaughter and oppress. From Nicaragua to Iran, from Zaïre to Zimbabwe, from Brazil to Chile—Washington is helping to prop up the most brutal and bloody dictatorships and antidemocratic regimes on the face of the earth."

Marroquín said that one example of how Washington operates abroad can be seen in the way the FBI tried to disrupt and destroy the Mexican student movement, in which he participated.

"They opened a file on me when I was only fifteen years old. I know, because through the so-called Freedom of Information Act I just got a tiny part of the files that the FBI has on me."

That's why, explained Marroquín, "I can't depend . . . on them for a fair ruling." He appealed to "the working people of this country," to trade unionists, feminists, Blacks, Chicanos, students, and all supporters of civil liberties to support his asylum case.

John Vodicka, New Orleans coordinator of Amnesty International, said that at least 250 people in Mexico have been "disappeared" by cops and right-wingers. He described how the Mexican cops and military use torture and violence to extract phony confessions

from political activists. "We have reports," he said, "that this violence frequently results in death."

Ron Chisom, who is on the national board of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, explained the importance of uniting behind Marroquín's struggle for asylum.

Mario Mendoza, a representative of the Louisiana Committee for Human Rights in Nicaragua, described the "brutal genocide" against more than 2,000 people by Somoza's troops. He blasted U.S. aid to Nicaragua's bloody regime:

"The hypocritical cry for human rights by President Carter," he said, "is completely contradictory. How can this country claim to be in defense of human rights after its past history?"

The crowd heard greetings from Gretchen Hollander of the American Civil Liberties Union and Russ Pinecki of the Young Socialist Alliance. Supporters raised \$165 in a collection at the rally.

During his three-day tour here, Marroquín also spoke on WBOK, a Black radio station, and on the Spanish-language KGLA.

He addressed meetings at the University of New Orleans and at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge. The LSU gathering was sponsored by the Latin American Club, Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, Young Socialist Alliance, and leaders of the Independent Political Caucus, Turkish Student Alliance, Nicaraguan Committee, and Organization of Iranian Moslem students.

Emergency appeal

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) says it will rule on Héctor Marroquín's asylum request on October 27. If the INS rejects the request, Marroquín will face a deportation hearing soon.

The INS move seriously violates Marroquín's right to a fair hearing, since evidence essential for his defense remains locked in the government's files. For example, a small number of FBI documents received by Marroquín this summer show that the G-men spied on him since age fifteen in Mexico and may have been involved in helping Mexican cops frame him up.

Marroquín's attorneys have taken action to get hold of the rest of these revealing documents, which are being suppressed by the FBI.

The INS's rush to judgment is an attempt to stifle these defense efforts.

Marroquín has called on all his supporters to send emergency telegrams and letters protesting the INS decision. Send protest messages to: Leonel Castillo, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536.

Copies should be sent to the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, Post Office Box 843 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 691-3587.

Urgently needed donations should be sent to the same address.

Building Marroquín's tour is another important way to answer the government's new threat. The next stops are:

Oct. 27-31	Philadelphia/ State College/ Newark, Delaware
Nov. 1-2	Baltimore
Nov. 3-4	Newark, N.J.
Nov. 7-10	Detroit/Ann Arbor
Nov. 11	Toledo

Candidata a la Gubernatura de Arizona, Presidió Junta Aquí

Jessica Sampson candidata para Gobernador del Estado de Arizona, en Estados Unidos y Betsy McDonald, candidata al Congreso Nacional por el Segundo Distrito, sostuvieron ayer una conferencia de prensa en el local del Frente Campesino Independiente misma que fue organizada por el Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Sección Mexicana de la IV Internacional).

Las dos políticas norteamericanas, son postuladas por el Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (SWP) de Estados Unidos.



JESSICA SAMPSON, candidata a Gobernador por el Estado de Arizona y Betsy McDonald, para el Congreso Nacional por el Segundo Distrito, ofrecieron ayer una conferencia de prensa en el local del FCI, organizada por el PRT, donde abogaron por un alto en las deportaciones de mexicanos indocumentados en EU y respeto por el desarrollo de los energéticos de nuestro país. (Foto Morales).

Arizona socialist tours Mexico

By Caroline Fowlkes

PHOENIX, Ariz.—Last month, Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial candidate Jessica Sampson made a six-day fact-finding tour of the Mexican state of Sonora, which borders Arizona.

The campaign visit made the front pages of five Mexican dailies. The newspapers all featured Sampson's defense of undocumented Mexican workers.

"They don't cause unemployment," *El Imparcial* in Hermosillo quoted Sampson. What causes it is "the way in which the capitalist economy is organized."

"The program that she raises," explained the *Gaceta* in Guaymas, "has points of interest for the Mexicans 'on this side': defense of undocumented

workers, defense of Mexico's oil resources, a halt to U.S. interventionist policy, and the struggle for freedom of political prisoners in the United States."

The *Gaceta* noted that Sampson singled out the Wilmington Ten and the Arizona frame-up case of Chicano Jesse López.

The story also reported the fight to win political asylum in the United States for Mexican socialist Héctor Marroquín.

The Mexican Trotskyist group, Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Party), organized the tour for Sampson. The PRT, however, is not a legal party in Mexico and is not allowed to run for public office or sell its newspaper. Its members are often targets of government repression.

The *Gaceta* said that Sampson spoke out for the PRT's right to legal status.

When Sampson returned to Phoenix, she called a news conference.

"I have seen the conditions of poverty in Mexico that cause Mexican workers to come to this country to seek work," Sampson told the news media, including two TV stations.

"Much of this poverty is caused by U.S. corporations. I call on the Carter administration to drop its racist deportation plan, to end all deportations, and to open the border to all Mexican workers."

Sampson blasted her Democratic opponent, Gov. Bruce Babbitt, who also made a trip to Mexico. A photo of Babbitt appeared in the Mexican press showing him dancing with a child in a

celebration—with U.S. dollars pinned to his chest.

"This is a disgusting display of paternalism" on Babbitt's part, Sampson was quoted as saying.

Shortly after her return, Sampson joined a fiesta here where some 250 undocumented workers celebrated the anniversary of their successful strike against Arizona citrus growers.

"The Socialist Workers campaign wholeheartedly supports your struggle," Sampson told a cheering crowd. "We oppose the use of *la migra* [Immigration and Naturalization Service] as a strikebreaker. It is not you, the undocumented worker, who is in this country illegally, but the U.S. government, which has stolen Aztlan from you."

'It is our governments that keep us apart'

The following is excerpted from a speech by Jessica Sampson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Arizona. Sampson was joined for part of her fact-finding trip to Mexico by Betsy McDonald, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Arizona's Second District.

Our first stop was to meet with the people of *la colonia* outside the city of Nogales. *Colonia* is the word for the neighborhoods that exist outside every Mexican city. Most of the people in *la colonia* told us they came to the border to live because they were driven off their land by poverty and cannot afford rent in the city.

With scraps of cardboard and tin from the nearby garbage dump, they construct their one-room homes. Even though there are 500 families living in this area, there is no electricity or water. They are forced to buy water and store it in tin barrels for as many as eight days.

We talked with a woman who works in a "twin plant"—a plant owned by a U.S. corporation with a plant on the U.S. side of the border as well. She makes \$4.95 per day, while right across the border in the same kind of plant an American worker makes \$4.75 per hour.

We talked with a man who explained

that he was arrested in the United States for the "crime" of having no papers allowing him to work in Arizona. He was sent back to *la colonia*, but he could not find a job. He returned once again to the United States.

These people are not stealing American jobs. They are being used as scapegoats by the employers, who take advantage of the undocumented status of Mexican workers to pay them less for jobs and to enforce working conditions most U.S. workers would not stand for.

A woman showed us the stub of a paycheck from a petty capitalist in Tucson, Arizona. She had been paid fifty-six dollars for more than sixty hours' work in one week. She could not complain because she was afraid she would be deported.

High school struggles

Further south in Sonora, in the cities of Obregón and Emplame, we spoke at two high schools to groups of 100 and 130 students. Their teachers let them out of class so they could hear their first revolutionary socialist from the United States.

We could feel their excitement about the demonstration they were going to have later in the day. This demonstration was in support of open admissions to the university in Hermosillo, and also in support of their teachers' right to a contract.

The day before, 1,000 college students took to the streets of Hermosillo. While they were marching for their demands, they were also taking part in programs demanding amnesty for political prisoners.

Later in the evening, they held meetings to discuss how to shut down the university and take it over, which they had accomplished by the time we returned to Hermosillo.

There is also a drive by the university administration in Sonora to force those who get into the university to become technocrats—technicians for American industry, which has been moving into Mexico at an ever-increasing rate.

From what we learned about Mexican struggles, we can say that U.S. capitalists will not have an easy time in Mexico. They will find a tremendous fighting spirit among the workers.

In Mexico, the government and the union bureaucrats are officially the same. For most Mexican workers, joining the union means joining the government party.

We learned about the struggle of workers at the copper mine at Nacozari, Sonora. What happens at Nacozari is of special importance for American capitalists because it is the second richest copper mine in the world. American dollars control this mine.

The government set up a company union at the mine, which has been totally unresponsive to the needs of the miners. The workers' wages are so low that many of them are forced to live in the streets or in the brush near the mine.

Fight for union democracy

The miners went on a wildcat strike for six months, from March through August of 1978. The strike was broken by massive repression, in which the company union played a part.

These workers told us they are not defeated but are planning for the future by fighting for union democracy.

We met with railroad workers, construction and nuclear power workers, who all explained to us that they, too, are seeking control over their unions.

They expressed their solidarity not only with each other and with the miners and students, but also with the peasants, who are fighting for their legal right to the land they work.

In 1976, the peasants in some states, including Sonora, rose up to expropriate fields that had been illegally put under the control of big growers over the years through government graft.

Although the peasants' gains were small in 1976, they are not demoralized. Like the miners, the *campesinos* are preparing for future struggles.

The peasants' movement in Sonora was organized by the Frente Campesino Independiente. Its leader was pleased when we told him that undocumented farm workers in Arizona are organizing and winning strikes.

The workers, organized by the Maricopa County Organizing Project (MCOP) near Phoenix, include many veterans of the Mexican *campesino* movement.

The Frente plans to send speakers to Arizona to show solidarity with the MCOP-led strike scheduled for October.

We found that kind of international solidarity elsewhere on our visit.

A white-haired railroad worker from Empalme told us in a firm voice, "I want you to know that we don't think of the people of your country as our enemy. It is your government and our government that keep us apart."



SAMPSON

Socialist candidates speak

Across the nation—in twenty-six states plus Washington, D.C.—candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are addressing the concerns of working people in the 1978 elections. While the Democrats and Republicans either scuttle the real issues or openly side with big business, the socialists have spoken out loud and clear in defense of the rights and living standards of the working class. And they have backed up their words with activity in union battles, in the fight to win the Equal Rights Amendment, in struggles by the Black and Chicano communities, and in the antinuclear movement, just to name a few.

For the next several weeks, the 'Militant' will feature news of many of these campaigns, including next week's listing of all SWP candidates. If you want to be part of the effort to spread the word about the socialist alternative, or for information on the candidates in your state, contact the SWP office nearest you listed on page 31.

Maryland: Bethlehem's 'L' means layoffs

By Toba Singer

BALTIMORE—Micky's. On payday, it's one of the busiest bars here, as workers from the Bethlehem Steel plant at Sparrows Point cash their checks, stop for a beer, and take a few minutes to talk with friends.

On a recent Tuesday, Salm Kolis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Maryland, spent the afternoon campaigning at Micky's.

It was two days before Bethlehem opened its new "L" blast furnace. The "L" is the largest blast furnace in the Western Hemisphere and one of the twelve largest in the world. Bethlehem's full-page ads in the *Washington Post* and the *Baltimore Sun* announced the opening of the "L" this way:

"Bethlehem Steel is lean and technologically sound and we intend to stay that way."

By "lean and technologically sound," the steel company means it plans to shut down two operating furnaces when the "L" begins production—resulting in significant layoffs.

As Kolis and her supporters campaigned at Micky's, they handed out a statement blasting the impending layoffs and calling instead for a shortened workweek with no cut in pay.

"Why are steelworkers' jobs and living standards threatened when steel corporations modernize plant facilities?" the statement asks. "Steel corporations produce steel to make profit, not to meet human needs. Cut-throat competition among these powerful giants eliminates jobs, speeds up production, and creates unsafe working conditions. Thousands of steelworkers work overtime while unemployment figures climb."

A young Black woman, who works in the coke ovens, took a leaflet from Kolis. Pointing to the statement's bold headline—"L'AYOFFS"—she said, "That really catches your eye. The 'L' blast will mean layoffs."

An older worker on the blast furnace

added, "I've never known it to fail. When they open a new furnace here, they always lay off."

"This makes a lot of sense," said another coke oven worker after reading the statement. He bought a *Militant* from a co-worker, Bobbi Spiegler, who was campaigning with Kolis. A few more coke oven workers gathered around Kolis and Spiegler.

"Fifty cents for this newspaper, huh? Well, sure, here—it's only money. If Bobbi works as hard for your campaign as she does in the coke ovens, I'll make sure I read the whole paper!" said one.

Kolis stepped over to a young man getting out of his car. "I'm Salm Kolis. I'm running for governor. Here's what I think the 'L' blast furnace is going to mean for jobs at the point," she said, handing him a statement.

"You're running for governor?" he asked. "A woman, that's great!"

By the time the SWP campaign team left Micky's, they had sold fifteen *Militants* and distributed more than 500 statements.

The next Wednesday at 5:15 a.m., Kolis and supporters campaigned at Clockhouse No.1 at Bethlehem Steel—where the coke oven and blast furnace employees punch in. Kolis is there every Wednesday. This morning, she offered a young woman the "L" blast statement.

"Oh, I've already seen that," the woman said. "Someone posted it in my locker room. I read the whole thing, and I think you're exactly right."

Oregon: No to Prop. 13s, tax the rich!

By Vern Cope

PORTLAND, Ore.—This November, voters in Oregon will vote on several racist, sexist, and antilabor ballot measures. They deal with the Democratic and Republican parties' popular themes this election season: taxes, abortion, and the death penalty.

One candidate in the elections is urging a "no" vote on all these anti-



LOUISE HABERBUSH

working-class measures: Louise Haberbush, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Haberbush is a production-line mechanic at the Freightliner truck assembly plant here and a member of the International Association of Machinists.

At a recent Militant Forum, Haberbush spoke out on these measures and offered the socialist alternative.

Like voters in several other states, Oregonians will be faced with two tax proposals on the November ballot. One, patterned after California's Proposition 13, would limit property taxes to 1.5 percent of assessed valuation.

The other would cut homeowner, mobile homeowner, and renter property taxes by half. Under this, the state government would supposedly pay local governments for all local tax revenues lost.

"These tax limitation measures would be disastrous for working people," said Haberbush. "Under either proposition, social services would be cut and thousands of government employees fired."

"It's like choosing between being devoured by the fox or the wolf."

Under one measure local services would be slashed, Haberbush explained, under the other, state services. Unless, of course, the state institutes a sales tax or ups the state income tax dramatically.

"As one co-worker of mine said the other day," recalled Haberbush, "They must really think we're stupid that we'll fall for this proposition saying the state will pay our property taxes. Where does the state get its money except from us?"

Haberbush proposed a plan that says first, "Tax the rich!" The socialist's platform demands: No income taxes on incomes below \$30,000, and 100 percent on those above \$50,000. Abolish sales taxes. Tax the profits of the polluting industries 100 percent. Abolish the huge war budget, and use the funds for human needs.

Haberbush then moved on to Measure 7, which would make Medicaid-funded abortions illegal.

"This is an antiwoman proposition that shows nothing but contempt for women in general and for low-income women in particular," declared Haberbush.

"As a socialist senator, I would use my authority to help organize the thousands of angry women—joining with our allies in the Black, Chicano, and labor movements—into a powerful show of force to put the anti-abortion, anti-women forces back on the defensive."

"I would demand: Keep abortion legal. Government-funded abortions for poor women. No forced sterilizations."

Haberbush also hit Proposition 8, which would legalize the death penalty for certain offenses.

"Some people call that justice," she said. "I call it murder—legalized murder at the hands of the state."

"There are no rich people on death row," she continued. "It is Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, and other poor and working people in this country who face execution."

"As Malcolm X once said, this system has a way of making the victim look like the criminal and the criminal look like the victim."

Texas: 'Who's more antilabor?'

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. senator from Texas is Miguel Pendás, a member of Retail Clerks Local 455 in Houston. The following is excerpted from a speech by Pendás.

The campaign for U.S. senator has not been marked by much discussion of serious issues on the part of incumbent Republican John Tower and Democrat Bob Krueger, who is currently a U.S. representative.

Instead, the two capitalist candidates have sparred on such questions as: Who has the highest absenteeism record in Congress? Who's raised the most money from big business? Who's got the most accurate poll? Who's dodged the least taxes? Who's the more "Texan"?

One serious issue, however, has managed to surface. That is what I call the "Who's More Antilabor? Contest."

Tower fired the first shot. He has a spotless antilabor record to fall back on as a seventeen-year veteran in the Senate.

In a full-page ad that appeared in some of the major weekly news magazines, Tower made a demagogic defense of antilabor "right to work" laws and attacked "labor reform" legislation.

Krueger leapt to the ramparts with a "Truth Sheet" designed to prove to businessmen that he is the most antilabor of the pair.

The "Truth Sheet" is loaded with heavy ammunition. It points out that: Krueger led fights to deregulate gas prices and to remove federal price controls on oil. He sponsored legislation to exempt certain businesses from safety and health regulations.

Krueger killed a bill that would have allowed consumer class-action suits. He fought establishment of a consumer protection agency and led the effort to restrict the Clean Air Act.

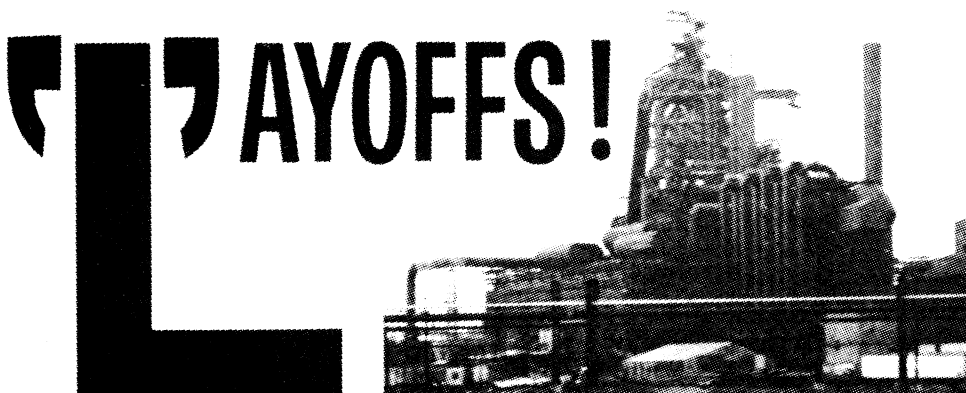
Krueger opposes repeal of the "right to work" law and voted against the common situs picketing bill and the inflation indexing of the minimum wage.

Krueger supports taking food stamps away from strikers and opposes more public service jobs. He's also against aid to Vietnam to help repair the devastation caused by the U.S. military and opposes "giving away any U.S. rights in the Panama Canal Zone."

Shortly after the "Truth Sheet" was released, the Texas AFL-CIO Executive Board voted unanimously to enforce Krueger for election. Krueger responded, "I am proud to represent the working people of Texas."

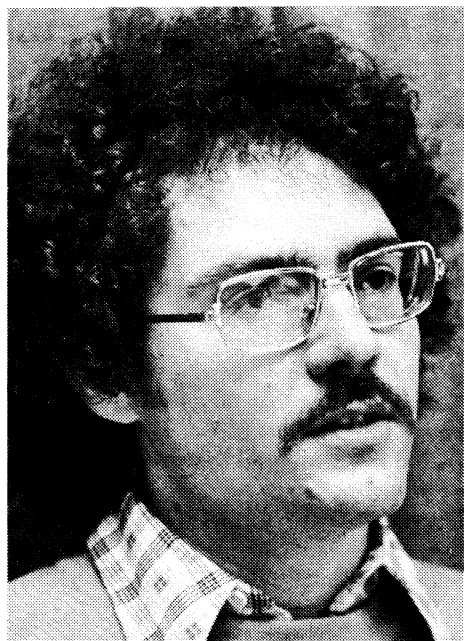
Apparently the labor bureaucrats got a little flak from the membership on this one because the August issue of the Texas AFL-CIO *Labor News* ran a column defending lesser-evil politics.

"I get a little sick at heart when . . . I see where some young union members thumb their nose at politics,"



Graphic on leaflet socialist campaigners distributed to Baltimore steelworkers

out on issues in elections



MIGUEL PENDAS Militant/Susan Ellis

writes Sherman Fricks, state AFL-CIO secretary.

"Desert the field, and you're gonna get more John Towers who'll vote against working people on every issue, including pocketbook issues," he continued.

"Hold your nose if you have to, but get out there and vote."

Has the "lesser evil" game ever been exposed as so totally bankrupt? Bob Krueger is another John Tower. When the union officials have to tell you to "hold your nose" when you vote for Krueger, you know something stinks.

And these are the same misleaders who refused to allow Socialist Workers Party candidates—union members—into the Texas convention of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education in order to present our platform.

I've got an alternative suggestion for workers when they go to the polls. You can keep your conscience clear, as well as your nasal passages: vote Socialist Workers.

Florida: Lift embargo against Cuba!

By Rose Ogden

MIAMI—Socialist Workers Party candidate Lee Smith is demanding that Carter lift the economic blockade against Cuba and establish full diplomatic and trade relations with the Cuban government.

Smith is running for U.S. Congress from Florida's Thirteenth District. In a recent campaign statement, Smith declared the time long overdue for "Washington to halt aggression against the Cuban revolution."

This issue has received a lot of attention here, especially after Fidel Castro's September 6 interview with a group of journalists made up primarily of Cuban exiles writing for the Cuban community abroad.

"Washington's denial to Cuba of recognition has been part and parcel of a policy of invasion, subversion, and attempted assassination," Smith's statement explains. This policy was "undertaken on behalf of the powerful Wall Street banking interests who ruled and robbed Cuba from the turn of the century until their loot was taken back by its rightful owners in the revolution."

"American working people and all Americans who believe in justice and human rights should insist that this policy be abandoned."

Smith goes on to point out that since the early days of the Cuban revolution, the U.S. government has encouraged and even recruited counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles. But this narrow grouping, which has consistently resorted to terrorism and intimidation, is

only a small part of the Cuban community in the United States.

Many Cuban exiles support normalization of relations between Washington and Havana.

"Carter's excuse for not doing so—his opposition to Cuba's role in Africa—is the sheerest hypocrisy," says Smith. "The same U.S. banks, the same CIA, and—if Carter had his way—the same U.S. troops that kept the Cuban people in misery for sixty years are now at work protecting the subjugation of the Black peoples of Africa."

"Cuba's role in Africa is to aid the fight for liberation. Cuba has no investments in Africa. The U.S. banks have millions invested."

Smith concludes by calling upon the American people to join together and demand: Hands off Cuba! End the blockade! U.S. out of Africa!

Colorado: Board won't end cop terror

By Sue Adley

DENVER—This city's cops are notorious for their terror aimed at Chicanos, Blacks, Native Americans, and gays.

The impunity with which the police beat, shoot, and murder has provoked a growing public outcry. In an effort to allay this protest, the city council has placed a proposal on the November ballot calling for a five-member police review commission.

Among the backers of the civilian commission proposal is the Police-Community Partnership. The Partnership's steering committee includes representatives from the Denver Urban League, Denver Bar Association, American Friends Service Committee of Denver, as well as Reuben Espinosa, nephew of one of two Chicanos murdered by cops in Mestizo Park last year.

The ballot measure is opposed by the mayor, the chief of police, and the mayor-appointed Commission on Community Relations, which says that civilian control would be "detrimental to the orderly and effective operation of the Denver Police Department."

But opposition has also come from those fighting against police brutality.

On July 30, 1977, without provocation, two cops gunned down and killed two Chicanos in Mestizo Park. These cold blooded murders sparked an outpouring of protests.

At memorial activities for the Mestizo Park victims this year, Chicanos



SUE ADLEY Militant/Walter Lippmann

and Blacks denounced the civilian commission measure.

"It's just an effort by city council to get people off their backs about all these killings," said one participant.

Ted Espinosa, brother of one of the slain victims, said, "Any appointee of Mayor McNichols—who's kept his mouth shut throughout all these killings—would be ineffective. The way it is now, it isn't worth a thing. It won't end police abuse."

These charges are more than borne out by features of the ballot measure. They include:

- Commission members would be nominated by the mayor and approved by the city council. Thus, control of the police would not change hands.

- The commission would *not* investigate killings by cops. That would remain the job of the district attorney.

- The commission would have *no* authority to discipline cops. That would remain for the police chief to do, under Civil Service Commission review, as it is now.

As part of its campaign to sell this proposal to the public, the Denver City Council sent a delegation to several cities that already have such commissions.

One is Los Angeles, where a commission has been "controlling" police since the 1920s. In the past year, Los Angeles cops murdered thirty-eight people, thirty-three of them Black or Chicano.

Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl

Sue Adley is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from Denver's District One.

Gates told the Denver delegation that a commission is "an outstanding way to go" if it is structured properly. He spotlighted its most useful asset when he declared it could "lend credibility" to the police department.

That is the real intent of the initiators of the commission proposal: to defuse the public furor over police terror.

The Black and Chicano communities should continue to mount public protests demanding that the killer cops be arrested and prosecuted.

Nothing short of removing the racist police force from the Black and Chicano communities will eliminate cop murders, intimidation, and frame-ups.

A commission to add "credibility" to their reign of terror is no step forward. The Socialist Workers Party urges a "no" vote on the ballot proposal for a civilian police commission.

Wisconsin: Union endorses socialists

By Tom Mauer

MILWAUKEE—The Wisconsin State Employees Union local at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee has called for the formation of a statewide farmer-labor party and a vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidates for governor and lieutenant governor.

A resolution adopted unanimously at WSEU Local 82's September 12 membership meeting instructs the union's officials "to initiate immediate action with other unions' leaders to call a delegated conference on or before January 1, 1979, of all labor unions and organizations of working farmers in Wisconsin that would establish a statewide Farmer-Labor Party, independent of the Democrats and Republicans, and responsible to the unions and working farmers' organizations."

A separate resolution, passed by a large majority on a voice vote, endorsed SWP candidates Adrienne Kaplan for governor and Bill Breihan for lieutenant governor "as an expression of independent political action by labor, and as the only viable working-class alternative to the Democrats and Republicans."

Local 82, with more than 500 members, represents custodians, maintenance mechanics, technicians, and clerical workers at UWM. The WSEU is an affiliate of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

The socialist candidates addressed the Local 82 meeting before discussion and vote on the two resolutions. Kaplan pointed out that the various "tax reform" schemes advanced by the Democratic and Republican candidates during the primaries all shared one feature: state spending cuts aimed at social services and the living standards of state employees.

None of the candidates, Kaplan said, even mention the more than \$200 million in tax breaks handed corporations by Democratic Gov. Martin Schreiber and his predecessor.

Breihan told the unionists the SWP supports the unconditional right of public employees to strike and to enforce their contracts without getting tied up in a slow-moving, costly, employer-biased arbitration process.

AFSCME officials later conducted a poll of the local's membership in an effort to undercut the endorsement for the socialist candidates. But of the 25 percent who returned ballots, a plurality voted for SWP candidate Kaplan.

On the weekend of September 30, the three Wisconsin district councils of AFSCME held their convention of PEOPLE (Public Employees Organ-

Continued on next page



Participants in 1976 demonstration against Denver cops

Militant/Frank Lord

...candidates

Continued from preceding page
ized for Political and Legislative Equality).

Supporters of the socialist candidates were unable to get an endorsement resolution on the floor. But opposition to the two capitalist candidates ran so high that the convention voted to make no endorsement for governor.

In a voice vote, about one-third of the convention supported Local 82's resolution for a farmer-labor party.

On the same weekend, socialists here held an election campaign rally.

One featured speaker was Hattush Alexander, president of Local 82. Alexander told the audience how surprised and pleased he was that his local had endorsed the SWP candidates. In a previous election year, he said, the local had wanted to endorse George Wallace, "so I'd have to say they've come a long way since then!"

Also speaking was Joel Miller, the Socialist Party's candidate for Wisconsin State Senate. The SWP is calling for a vote for Miller. Supporters of the SP and SWP campaigns have been jointly distributing literature door to door on Saturdays.

Miller is running against Jim Moody, a liberal Democrat.

Texas: Energy trusts sacrifice lives

By Shelley Kramer

At first it may sound strange. A refinery worker running for Texas railroad commissioner. But it really makes a lot of sense, explains Socialist Workers Party candidate Jana Pellusch. Pellusch works at Houston's Atlantic Richfield plant and is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227.

In Texas the Railroad Commission regulates—more correctly, is supposed to regulate—the state's huge energy industry. "And that means some of the most important issues facing working people are tied to energy—its cost, availability, and safety," Pellusch explains.

"The interests of the majority of Texans—workers—need to be represented on the commission. That's why workers in the energy industry like myself should run for office."

The energy corporations sacrifice workers' lives for profits. "Safety standards are so lax that accidents are bound to happen," says Pellusch. "Explosions and deaths make the headlines, but fires and injuries are daily

occurrences in the Gulf Coast petrochemical industry."

What is industry's response? Pellusch ticks off a few typical examples. "Atlantic Richfield, my boss, uses its Civic Action Program to fight environmental standards that mean cleaner air for Texans but fewer profits for Arco.

"And Dow Chemical hushes up a study done by its own researchers showing chromosome damage—an early sign of cancer—in Freeport, Texas, workers exposed to low levels of Benzene.

"Nowhere is this contradiction between corporate profits and human lives as glaring as in the development of nuclear power. Each proposed nuclear plant would provide thirty years of electricity—at higher rates; emit constant radiation; and produce daily some fourteen pounds of deadly radioactive wastes, some of which will remain radioactive poison for half a million years."

Pellusch is an activist in the movement against nuclear energy. She is campaigning to stop the construction of nuclear plants and underground storage sites in Texas. She is also demanding that the Glen Rose nuclear plant and the South Texas nuclear project be dismantled.

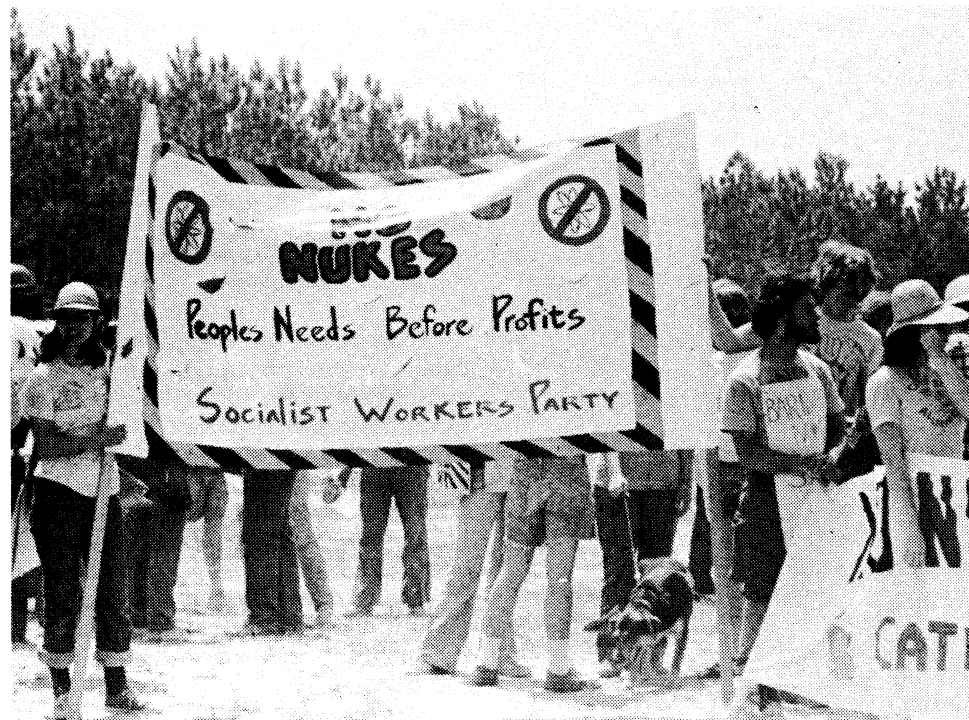
"Only when the energy industry is nationalized and operates under workers' control will energy be produced to serve human needs—not risk human lives," Pellusch explains. "Right now the industry would rather starve and freeze its customers than part with a buck.

"When Crystal City, Texas, couldn't afford to pay an 800 percent rate increase, the LoVaca Gathering Company—a subsidiary of Coastal States Gas Corporation—cut off its gas supply," she recounts. "The majority-Chicano population of Crystal City now faces a second winter without gas. But you can bet that Oscar Wyatt, Coastal States chairman, will still collect his \$262,000 salary."

Carter's energy plan—which will force profits and prices still higher—means more Crystal Cities.

Pellusch believes working people need their own energy program—one that speaks to their needs. "We need to democratically decide the life-and-death questions of energy and the environment. To do that, we need complete access to all the secret records of the energy trust—its profits, its real oil and gas reserves, its tax dodges."

When voters go to the polls in Texas this November, they can vote for an alternative to the profit-grabbing energy trusts. They can vote Socialist Workers.



Socialist candidate Jana Pellusch is campaigning to stop construction of nuclear plants and underground storage sites in Texas.

Campaigning for socialism

Utah filing fee struck down

The state of Utah owes Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate Bill Hoyle \$287.50. State Circuit Court Judge Dean Conder has ordered the state to refund the filing fee Hoyle had to pay to get on the ballot. The ruling came in a suit filed for Hoyle by the Utah Civil Liberties Union.

Utah's attorney general had argued that Hoyle could always be a write-in candidate if he didn't want to or couldn't afford to pay the fee. But Judge Conder said that wasn't a reasonable alternative. While not outlawing the concept of filing fees, he ruled the state had to provide some alternative for those who couldn't pay.

Utah requires a filing fee equal to 1 percent of the total salary for the entire term of office. For a U.S. senator, this would mean a fee of \$840.

Hoyle noted that such fees limit the races to wealthy candidates like his hotel-magnate opponent Dan Marriott. "Elimination of prohibitive filing fees is one example of how the socialist campaign is being waged in the interests of working people," Hoyle said.

The attorney general at first said he would appeal the ruling, but a later statement indicated he was reconsidering.

Illinois candidates on TV

Equal time requests have enabled Illinois Socialist Workers Party candidates to get several hours of TV time this fall. Gubernatorial candidate Cecil Lampkin taped a half-hour interview to be shown three times over public television. And John Eriksen, candidate for state comptroller, appeared on a fifteen-minute Black-oriented interview show.

Eriksen's appearance was videotaped by some of his co-workers at the Stanadyne Corporation, which is organized by the United Auto Workers. They plan to show it at a get-together for other auto workers. Sam Langer, an SWP campaign supporter and veteran of the UAW in Chicago, will be on hand to discuss his experiences as a militant unionist.

'The only party that supports gay rights'

That's how Naomi Berman, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania, was introduced when she spoke at gay rights events in Allentown and Bloomsburg. One hundred fifty people participated in Allentown's first gay rights march and rally on September 23. The Bloomsburg march the next day was combined with a protest of antigay crusader Anita Bryant's appearance at the local state fair.

Speaking along with Berman were representatives of gay rights, religious, and women's groups, including Dixie White, president of Pennsylvania National Organization for Women.

FEC harasses Communist Party campaign

The Federal Election Commission has taken the Communist Party's 1976 presidential election campaign committee to court for allegedly failing to disclose the names of contributors.

The FEC is asking the U.S. District Court in New York to impose a fine of \$5,000 on Frances Bordofsky, treasurer for the Hall-Tyner Election Campaign Committee, and to force Bordofsky to hand over names it claims she withheld.

This harassment of the CP is based on the 1971 campaign finance "reform" law, which requires candidates to disclose names of contributors of more than \$100.

—Bob Schwarz

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- for a government run by and in the interests of working people

- for a society free from racism, sexism, inflation, and unemployment

- for a world without war and devastation of our environment

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- ☐ Please send more information.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$2 for a ten-week subscription to the 'Militant.'

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Send to SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

...join the SWP

Calif. drive grows to defeat antigay 'Prop 6'

'Stop 6' actions planned

By Sally Frumkin

LOS ANGELES—On October 21, "Stop 6 Saturday," gay rights supporters plan to rally their forces and distribute almost 1 million brochures and buttons in a drive to defeat Proposition 6, the so-called Briggs initiative.

Proposition 6, sponsored by right-wing State Sen. John Briggs, will be on the California ballot November 7. If it passes, any California school employee who openly supports gay rights could face a witch-hunt hearing and be fired.

"Stop 6 Saturday" will begin at 11:00 a.m. with a rally at DeLongpre Park in Hollywood. Speakers include Raoul Teilhet, president of the California Federation of Teachers (CFT); Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women; Henry Dodson, president of the Los Angeles NAACP; and Sister Marilyn Schaefer, a member of the Order of St. Joseph.

The event is being advertised as a "day of united effort," backed by a broad range of organizations. Sponsors include the No on 6 Committee; Committee Against the Briggs Initiative/Los Angeles; the CFT; Social Service Employees International Union Local 535; Western Region of the United Auto Workers; Stonewall Democratic Club; Socialist Workers Party; and the newspapers *Coast-to-Coast*

Times and the *Advocate*.

After the rally, supporters will spread throughout Los Angeles with educational material and buttons to get out the vote against Proposition 6.

Recent polls have boosted hopes that the antigay measure can be defeated. Earlier this summer, polls showed 61 percent in favor of the antigay proposition and only 31 percent against it.

But as the real meaning and threat of Proposition 6 have become clear, public opinion has shifted. The California Poll reported early this month that 52 percent now oppose the measure and only 38 percent favor it.

The goal of activities such as the "Stop 6 Saturday" is to increase that slim majority support for gay rights and mobilize it to defeat Proposition 6.

Unionists describe labor's stake

By Walter Lippmann

LOS ANGELES—The antigay Proposition 6, which will be on California's ballot in November is not just a threat to gay and lesbian school employees. It is a danger to the entire trade-union movement.

Labor leaders interviewed by the *Militant* about Proposition 6 urged a vote against the measure.

"Let us not forget, Proposition 6 is a most divisive attack and infringement upon a basic human right of working teachers," said John T. Williams, a longtime Teamsters union and anti-

NYC: gay rights now!



Militant/Barry Chann

Hundreds marched on city hall in New York City on October 12 demanding passage of Intro 384, the gay rights bill. The demonstration was organized by the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights.

Vietnam War leader.

"The labor movement and all workers must vigorously resist such attacks whenever they occur, however

they are defined, and under whatever pretext they appear," Williams said. "Proposition 6 is one such attack. It must be defeated and destroyed. Vote no."

Raoul Teilhet, president of the California Federation of Teachers, told the *Militant*:

"The California Federation of Teachers is in strong opposition to Proposition 6, because, if passed, it would constitute a flagrant violation of the constitutional rights of all public school employees."

Teilhet said the proposition would also be "a serious violation of the right to academic freedom in our schools. . . . Proposition 6 is a politically motivated attack on the privacy of the citizens of this state and must be defeated."

The National Education Association and the California Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, also officially oppose the antigay measure.

A leaflet put out by the Bay Area Committee Against the Briggs Initiative Labor Committee explains that Proposition 6 "could also trigger other repressive measures aimed at elimination of tenure for teachers, limits on their political activity and destruction of collective bargaining. . . . If passed, the initiative will pave the way for firing of workers by other employers based on any differences in life styles or political views."

Briggs on 'Briggotry'

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—Do you have any doubts about how dangerous California's antigay Proposition 6 is? Then read what the proposition's sponsor, State Sen. John Briggs, has in mind. The following excerpts are from an interview conducted by Robert Scheer and published in the October 6 *Los Angeles Times*:

* * *

Scheer: . . . What your bill seems to add is that simply being a homosexual and admitting to that fact is grounds for firing.

Briggs: That is correct. If you are a homosexual, publicly admitted or practicing, that is automatic grounds for the removal of a teacher or a school administrator or an aide or a counselor.

Scheer: Even if that teacher or counselor or administrator has not spoken about homosexuality in the class?

Briggs: Even.

Scheer: Has not made any advances toward any students?

Briggs: That's right. Because he is a threat to children.

Scheer: But the threat does not have to be manifested in any way?

Briggs: Well, we already know that homosexuals are attracted to children. . . .

Scheer: But isn't a man innocent until proved guilty?

Briggs: If you look like a duck and you walk like a duck, in my opinion, my friend, you are a duck. If you have a proclivity for having sex with young boys or people of your own gender, then you ought not to be put in a position where you are going to be tempted. . . .

[Scheer asked what would happen to those who are "devoted to teaching" but are gay in private.]

Briggs: Then I don't think it would ever come to the attention of any neighbor or any school board.

Scheer: But what if the neighbor didn't like something else about them and brought it to the attention of the school board?

Briggs: He can do that now.

[Scheer asked about people such as former White House aide Margaret Costanza who advocate that homosexuals have the same rights as other people.]

Scheer: But you think she is advocating homosexuality?

Briggs: Yeah, I do. . . .

Scheer: Midge Costanza, for taking the positions she is taking now, if she were a teacher, would she in your eyes be prevented from teaching?

Briggs: Yes, she probably would. . . . As of late, with this free love, this zero population and gay liberation, we are in effect weakening the moral fiber, not only of the family and the child and the parents, but the country. And this is a danger greater than communism."

Calif. Teamsters reject 'outrageous' offer

By Jack Conley

OAKLAND, Calif.—Eight northern California Teamster locals representing more than 3,500 striking warehouse workers and truck drivers have unanimously rejected a tentative settlement of their thirteen-week strike and lockout battle with four major grocery chains. The vote results in six of the locals stacked up 1,740 to 0.

The rejected contract offer was a product of negotiations between the Food Employers Council, representing the four market chains, and Andy

Anderson, head of the Western Conference of Teamsters. Leaders of the striking locals were excluded from the talks.

Alex Ybarrolaza, a Local 70 business agent, called the settlement "regressive." "Our members are not going to accept something this outrageous," he said.

And outrageous is certainly an apt description of the proposed settlement. Among its provisions were: a 50 percent cut in cost-of-living adjustments during a time of double-digit inflation; approval of Safeway market's compu-

terized speedup system, a major cause of the strike; and no amnesty for more than 300 strikers accused of "hostilities" against the employers.

In addition, truck drivers were assigned around-the-clock starting times at the companies' convenience. Probationary employees were to be paid only 70 percent of the regular wage rate. Workers would not be called back to work in order of seniority but by the choice and whims of the bosses. And, to add insult to injury, the employers would retain control over the union's bulletin boards.

Despite goon attacks on the picket lines, mass arrests, and antistrike court orders, the Teamsters did not give an inch to this union-busting "settlement."

Strike leaders made a special appeal for support at a recent meeting of the union's general executive board in San Diego. Unless labor puts an end to massive scab herding and goon tactics in California, they warned, the same union-busting attacks are in store for other Teamster locals and the union movement as a whole.

By Dick Roberts
and Andy Rose

The most important statement of policy for the recent United Steelworkers convention was not to be found in any of the speeches or reports to the delegates.

It has never been made available to rank-and-file steelworkers.

It was never put to a vote.

Yet it explains—better than any of the convention resolutions—just where the current USWA leadership is taking the union.

This document is a front-page interview with USWA President Lloyd McBride published in *American Metal Market*, an industry newspaper, July 19. It begins:

"The United Steelworkers of America is committed to helping the domestic steel industry regain profitability and stay competitive with foreign producers, according to Lloyd McBride, president of the 1.4-million-member trade union."

McBride's policy and perspective for the union, as detailed in this interview, has four key aspects.

1. **Overriding dedication to industry profits.** Says McBride, "For steelworkers, the bottom line is to be employed by an industry that is profit-



MCBRIDE: Wants to help industry become 'profitable and competitive.'

able and competitive." He underscores the point: "We can't have the best of both worlds—guaranteed jobs at high levels of wages and fringes—without a productive and profitable steel industry."

'Dislocations'

2. **Acceptance of layoffs and plant shutdowns** as the steel corporations pursue higher productivity. McBride delicately refers to these massive job losses as "dislocations."

According to *American Metal Market*, he "stressed that 'the American steel industry needs new technology and profitability' and said the steelworkers' leadership believes that 'whatever dislocations arise will be temporary inconveniences auguring for long-term job security and solid wage benefits' for the membership."

3. **A holy crusade against steel imports** as the number-one problem facing steelworkers. Despite the Carter administration's minimum-price barrier to imports erected earlier this year, McBride says that "more has to be done."

4. **Determination to uphold the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement in basic steel.**

Says McBride, "The anti-ENA people are critical of stable labor relations in the steel industry, but these people are the same ones who say imports aren't a problem and who say that jobs can be kept whether the industry is profitable or not."

McBride implies that steelworkers oppose the ENA because they are young and ignorant: "Relatively few present steelworkers have been involved in a protracted strike, so they don't know that the glamor of a strike soon is replaced by suffering."

Besides, the interview continues, "He added that strikes also devastate corporate earnings. . . ."

Federal subsidies

Judging from this interview, there are no limits to McBride's kowtowing to private-profit ownership and control over the steel industry.

He voices support for federal subsidies to the corporations "to help finance expansions and modernizations, but said he was opposed to suggestions that the government finance worker take-over plans for closed steel plants." The latter suggestions McBride "dismissed as 'socialism.'"

Were McBride's views distorted, misquoted, or taken out of context by this management newspaper? USWA officials don't seem to think so—they reprinted and distributed the interview to the news media at the steelworkers convention.

McBride's program, then, can be summarized as the "four nos":

No strikes.

No imports.

No fight against layoffs.

And no membership vote on the contract that enforces all this, since the ranks are too ignorant and inexperienced to know what's good for them.

\$1.25 billion windfall

The steel industry and its union cheerleaders such as McBride scored a victory last year when the Carter administration agreed to stiff new restrictions on steel imports. The "trigger price" system—which effectively bans steel imports below a minimum price set by the Treasury Department—went into effect last May. What have been the results?

For the steel corporations, a surge in prices and windfall profits.

In the first nine months of this year, American steel companies have increased their list prices more than 9.5 percent—well above the overall rate of inflation. In fact, according to the September 26 *Wall Street Journal*, "steel buyers' actual costs have risen as much as 15% because last fall's widespread discounting has evaporated."

The icing on the cake is that the Treasury Department raises the trigger price every three months to compensate for the falling value of the dollar relative to the Japanese yen.

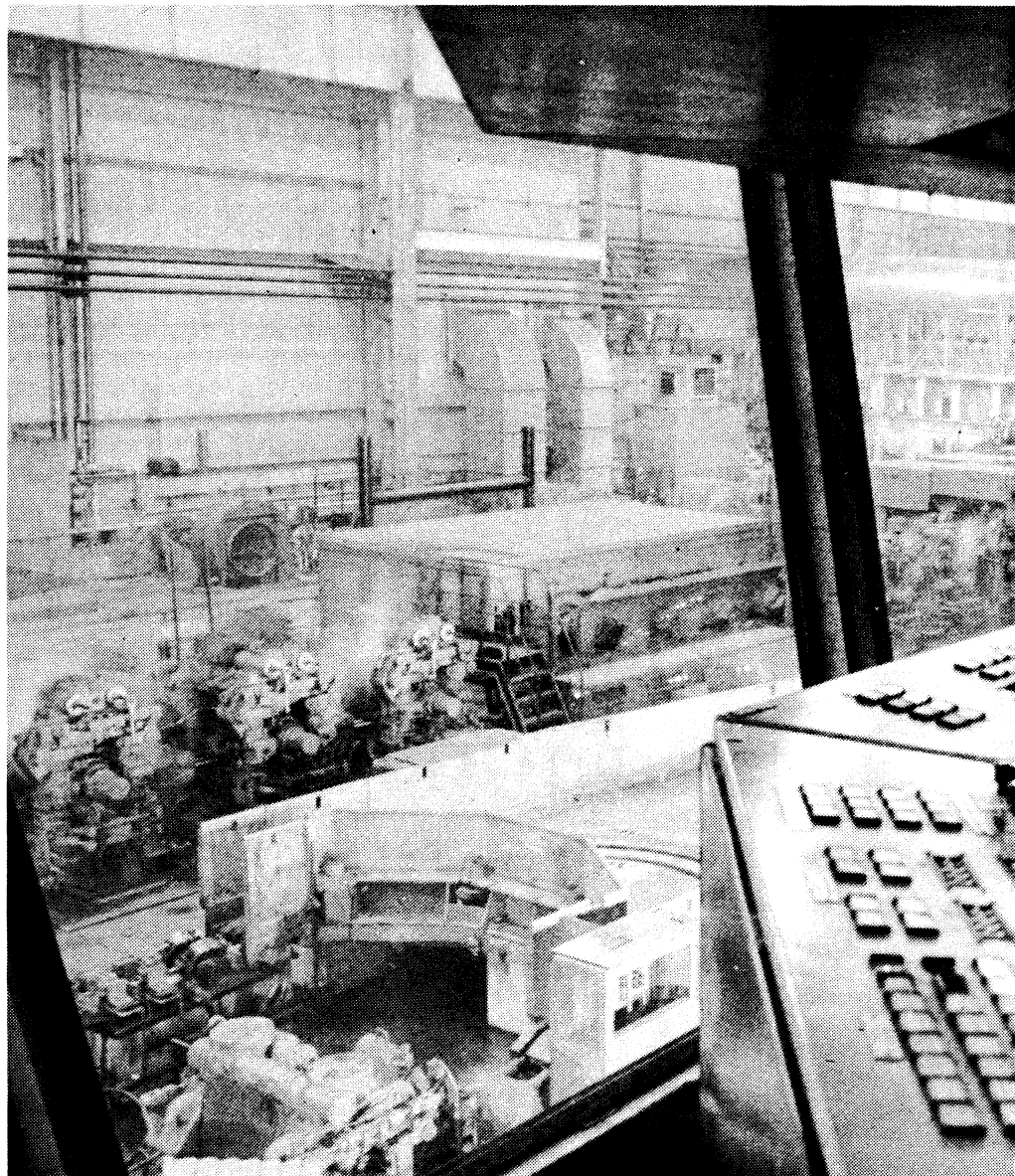
All told, the trigger price system will cost consumers *at least an extra \$1.25 billion* this year on everything from toasters to autos, according to a Brookings Institution economist who helped to design the system.

That's \$1.25 billion out of the pockets of steelworkers and other working people, handed over to the giant corporations through price hikes.

The effect on steel company profits has been spectacular. A *Wall Street* analyst states: "Second quarter profits of the six major steelmakers rose nearly 60% on a 0.6% gain in ship-

STEEL & IMP

The fraud of p



Rod mill at U.S. Steel South Works. Drive by steel corporations to increase productivity t

ments . . . without trigger prices, I doubt earnings would have risen at all."

Needless to say, steelworkers did not receive wage increases of 15 percent or even 10 percent as steel prices went up. But what about the promise that jobs would be saved?

"In Youngstown, Ohio, Robert Dill doesn't think he'll ever get over his bitterness and disappointment. In

Johnstown, Pa., Richard Thomas talks with hope but fears a permanent shutdown. In Lackawanna, N.Y., Art Sambuchi worries that an additional 4,000 Steelworkers could be laid off."

That is how McBride's own *Steel Labor* newspaper summarizes the situation in Youngstown, Johnstown, and Lackawanna, where the biggest plant closings took place last year.

In Lackawanna, Bethlehem Steel laid off 3,500 workers at the outset, and layoffs are continuing. Some workers got out-of-town jobs. "The others search for jobs, hope they will be recalled but fear the worst. Today the outlook is anything but hopeful," says *Steel Labor*. An additional 4,000 layoffs are feared.

In Johnstown, Bethlehem announced that it planned to lay off 7,300 workers and shut down two facilities. According to *Steel Labor*, "USWA members there feel they are working with an ax over their heads, an ax they believe will fall sometime during 1979."

With the current upturn in steel production, many of the Johnstown workers still have jobs. But Bethlehem threatens to close the plants next year, when it faces a deadline for installing pollution controls. No doubt the company has added anti-environmental

More steel, fewer workers

	JOBS (production & maintenance)	PRODUCTION (raw steel, millions of tons)
1950	540,000	96.8
1955	546,400	117.0
1960	461,800	99.3
1965	466,000	131.5
1970	419,900	131.5
1975	357,800	116.6
1976	356,900	128.0
1977	355,200	125.3

From 1950 to 1977 . . .
Production UP 29 percent, jobs DOWN 34 percent

source: American Iron and Steel Institute

JOBSPORTS

protectionism



ough new technology has wiped out thousands of jobs.

propaganda to its import-scare propaganda in attempting to cover its profit drive in that community.

Youngstown merger

In the Mahoning Valley of eastern Ohio, Youngstown Sheet and Tube shut down its Campbell Works, throwing 5,000 workers out of jobs. As in Lackawanna, they have not been rehired.

Ken Tedrow, a twenty-five-year-old open hearth crane operator, said, "Just six weeks before the shutdown, the company reassured us that the mill would hold together. So the wife and I bought a house. . . . One month later, they closed down. Now I have no job, no place to go. What kind of future does this country have if people like me who want to earn a living can't find a job?"

Youngstown Sheet and Tube is a subsidiary of Lykes Corporation. Last June U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell approved a proposal to merge Lykes with LTV Corporation, owner of Jones and Laughlin Steel.

The merger has been heralded by some as a way of saving jobs. But that is certainly not the case.

In order to put these two deeply indebted steel companies on a profit-making basis, the merged corporation will redouble efforts to increase

productivity—including closing down older plants.

One plant that is a candidate for closing was noted in a June 22 *New York Times* article on the proposed merger. It is the Brier Hill Works five miles from the Campbell Works. It has "old open hearths and mills now employing 1,400."

"LTV executives have said that the facilities would be phased out in about two years if a merger went through and steel would be delivered from . . .

more efficient plants. . . ."

At the September USWA convention, McBride held out no hope for reopening the closed plants or averting new shutdowns.

For the steelworkers whose lives have been shattered by job loss, it is cold comfort indeed to know that their "dislocation" is helping to make the American steel industry "productive and profitable."

Still the companies demand more.

"This profit level must be further improved," insists Edgar Speer, chairman of U.S. Steel.

The companies want cutbacks in environmental regulations. They want taxpayer subsidies in the form of faster write-off of their equipment. And above all they want more restrictions on imports.

Corporate executives now complain that the trigger price system is not enough. Steel imports declined in May and June. But in July and August they increased again. For the first eight months of the year, imports are up 26 percent from the year before. There are two related reasons for this jump.

First is the big increase in demand for steel in this country, owing to an upturn in construction and capital goods spending (and also possibly to stockpiling by steel users in anticipation of further price increases). American raw steel production is running nearly 6 percent ahead of last year. Domestic companies are using more than 85 percent of their steelmaking capacity, compared to less than 80 percent in the same period last year.

The second reason imports are up is that U.S. companies have responded to the price floor on imports not by trying to capture a greater share of the market but by jacking up their own prices even higher!

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, U.S. steel prices are still averaging some forty dollars a ton above the trigger prices.

Profit drive

The fact is that American steel corporations have no interest whatsoever in "saving American jobs." They are interested in only one thing: higher profits.

And their plans to achieve high profits are the opposite of what McBride promises to steelworkers.

Not "guaranteed jobs," but a heightened productivity drive to wipe out jobs.

Not "high levels of wages and fringes," but a concerted effort to hold labor costs to the minimum.

For the steel industry, this is the only possible road to becoming more competitive in world steel markets.

Value Line, a major Wall Street investment magazine, recently reported on the brightening outlook for the domestic steel industry. Here is what it said about U.S. Steel:

"U.S. Steel is closing its Central Furnaces plant. The high cost of operating a facility that was built in 1880 and the major expenditures that would have been required to bring it up to date and in compliance with environmental regulations forced the action."

"Although this is a relatively small plant, the implications seem clear: Antiquated plants that are not earning

a satisfactory return on equity and that have limited prospects for doing so may have to be closed.

"As we speculated in our May 26th report, the existence of a number of older plants (e.g. Ohio Works, Gary Works and South Works) and an 18 year estimated plant age make additional plant closings a possibility" (emphasis added).

'Bottom line'

This is the real reason nearly 200,000 steelworker jobs have been wiped out in the past twenty-five years—not because of imports, but because of the relentless productivity drive of the American steel industry.

It means wringing more production out of fewer workers.

It means closing older plants.

It means speedup at the expense of workers' lives and limbs.

Acceptance of this profit drive is what McBride calls "the bottom line." End of the line would be more like it.

The anti-import crusade tells U.S. steelworkers that their enemy is Japanese and European steelworkers—

Productivity: who benefits?

From 1960-1977 . . .

steel productivity increased by 2.2 percent per year, average

while steelworkers' real wages increased only 1.9 percent per year.

source: 1978 USWA Officers' Report

rather than the U.S. steel profiteers. If you can't identify the real problem, you can never find a solution.

In addition, the no-strike ENA gives up the union's strongest weapon in the fight for jobs—as well as for higher wages, safer conditions, and a clean working and living environment.

McBride, of course, argues that continuing job erosion just shows the need for more import restrictions and higher profits. In other words, if one spoonful of cyanide didn't cure the patient, try two spoons!

How to save jobs

Is there a way to save jobs?

Yes—but it means a fight against corporate profiteering. It means a fight for working people, not a handful of superrich capitalist owners, to enjoy the benefits of new technology.

A thirty-hour workweek for forty hours' pay would halt layoffs and provide millions of new jobs. There is growing sentiment in the unions to renew the fight for a shorter workweek, which was abandoned decades ago as part of the strategy of "partnership" with the employers.

When the steel companies claim that older plants must be shut down, the union should fight to open all their books and financial records.

The workers have the right to uncover the truth about monopoly pricing, hidden profits, tax swindles, government handouts, executive salaries and bonuses, payoffs to Democratic and Republican politicians, and schemes to bust unions and subvert health and safety laws.

Companies that refuse to keep plants open and meet safety and pollution standards should be nationalized and run by democratically elected committees of workers.

If workers controlled the plants, they could use the latest technology to make work safer, cleaner, and more productive.

Instead of higher productivity meaning unemployment and misery, the workers would benefit through shorter hours, higher pay, and better conditions.

That—not McBride's reactionary utopia of a "profitable and competitive" steel industry—is the way to safeguard steelworkers' interests.

Soaring profits

	Earnings per share of stock		Increase
	1977	1978*	
U.S. Steel	\$1.66	\$3.15	90%
Bethlehem Steel	(loss \$10.27)	\$4.10	—
Armco Steel	\$2.53	\$3.80	50%
Republic Steel	\$2.54	\$4.75	87%
National Steel	\$3.12	\$4.50	44%
Inland Steel	\$4.23	\$5.90	39%

*second half of the year is estimated

source: Value Line Investment Survey

The 'Pennsy' and 1877

By Dick Roberts

(Fourth in a series)

The Pennsylvania Railroad rose to even greater financial heights in the nineteenth century than Vanderbilt's New York Central. For a time it was not only the largest private enterprise in the United States but also the biggest freight carrier in the world.

In 1873 it employed 200,000 workers. By the turn of the century the Pennsylvania also controlled the Chesapeake and Ohio, Baltimore and Ohio, Reading, and Norfolk and Western railroads, as well as vast coal fields.

This trust was controlled from the start by the Philadelphia aristocracy. Founded in 1846, the Pennsylvania's original board of directors consisted of six merchants, four manufacturers, and two bankers—all Philadelphians.

The inestimable wealth that these and subsequent financiers raked off the Pennsylvania can still be glimpsed if one visits the "Main Line" mansions in Philadelphia's southwestern suburbs. There, generations of Pennsylvania Railroad owners have lived in great stone structures surrounded by mighty trees, formal gardens, and rolling lawns.

The Pennsylvania Railroad Company paid dividends every year without fail from 1856 to 1969. It paid 10 percent dividends in 1864 and 1865, despite the Civil War. It paid 10 percent dividends in 1874 and 8 percent in 1875 and 1876, as the country wallowed in its first major depression. The "Pennsy" paid 8 percent in 1930 and 6.5 percent in 1931, as the United States sank into the Great Depression of the 1930s.

And the same company is still a major factor in the hidden control of Amtrak and Conrail, as we will see in a later article of this series.

President makers

The power of the Pennsylvania was personified in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in the character of its president, Thomas Scott. Scott "owned" the Pennsylvania legislature in Harrisburg and was not too far from exercising the same control in Washington.

Union Station in downtown Washington near the Capitol was originally a terminal of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and it is a monument to the power this company once held in Congress.

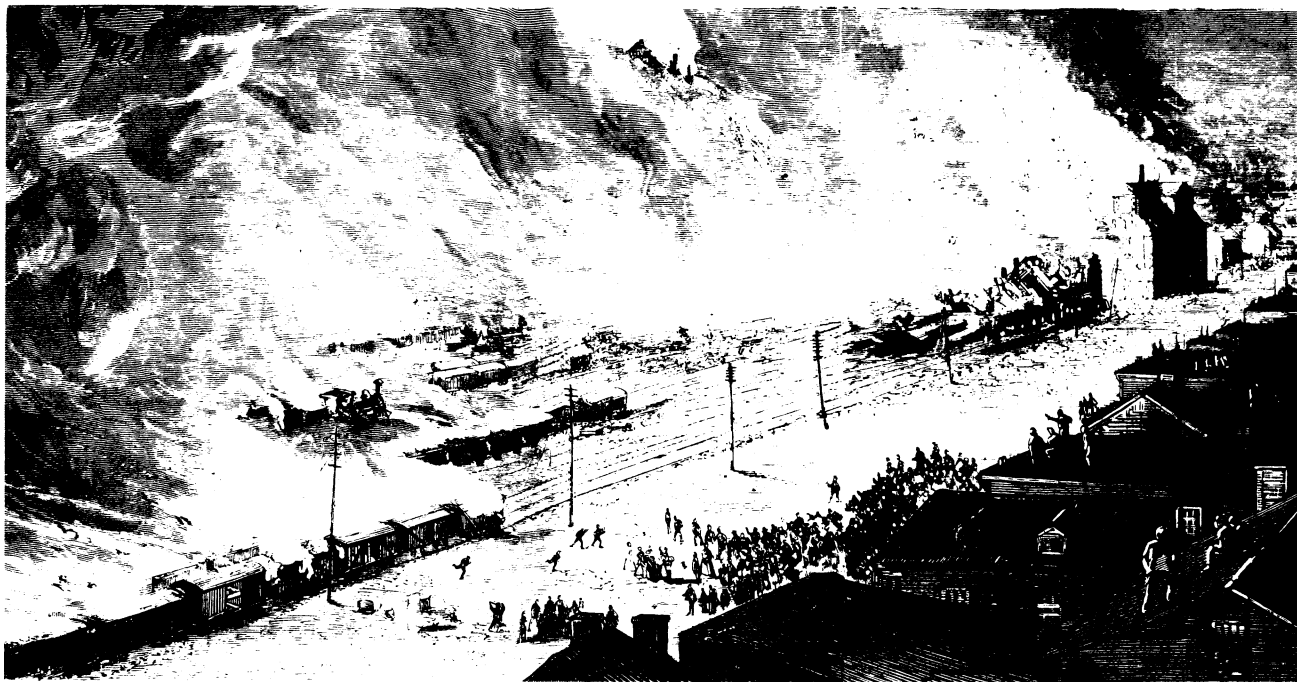
It was Scott who engineered the 1877 compromise making Rutherford Hayes the U.S. president. In the 1876 elections, Republican Hayes lost to Democrat Samuel Tilden. But the results were contested in some southern states. Ultimately, some southern Democrats shifted over to supporting Hayes and turned the election results around.

Scott promised these Democrats that the new government would back the "Texas and Pacific Railroad," a project to build a transcontinental route through the Southwest. This would give southern capital its own route to the West in competition with such northern lines as the Union Pacific and the Northern Pacific.

We saw in a previous article of this series that Scott later purchased the labor of Black prisoners at a few cents a day to race the construction of the Texas and Pacific line across Texas.

"It is hardly an accident that on March 2, 1877, when Hayes received the telegram confirming his election, he was en route to Washington in Tom Scott's own luxurious private car," writes labor historian Philip Foner.

In their rush West, the railroads inevitably overbuilt. Stocks and bonds were sold in companies building railroads through barely inhabited land—and often in companies merely promising to build



People of Pittsburgh show what they think of Pennsylvania Railroad at height of great 1877 strike

such roads. On top of this, the railroads that were under construction poured millions into the coffers of corrupt construction companies such as the Credit Mobilier, subjecting the overextended companies to all the greater financial duress.

In 1873 the worst financial and economic crash that the country had yet seen was touched off by the failure of Jay Cooke and Company, a banking firm attempting to build the Northern Pacific Railroad across the far north. Cooke's failure ignited a panic.

The New York Stock Exchange closed for ten days beginning September 20. By the end of the year, eighty-nine railroads had defaulted on their

trains with safety devices, and during the depression it made work on the main line more hazardous by doubling the size of its trains and reducing the number of men who worked on them."

Railroad strikers took over the Pittsburgh yards July 19, and no trains left the city for more than a week. A militia was raised in Philadelphia to crush the strike.

"Saturday, July 21, a day long to be remembered by Pittsburghers, dawned bright and beautiful," Foner writes. "The strikers had remained stationed along the line during the entire night. Early the next morning, they were joined by rolling-mill men, mechanics, the unemployed, and women and children."



Fire on crowd

It was this assemblage defending the strike that was assaulted that afternoon by the Philadelphia troops. When the command to fire rang out, "immediately the troops began firing directly into the crowd. The panic-stricken men, women, and children, trapped and unarmed, surged in all directions, and several fell. . . .

"Within a few minutes, at least twenty were dead. . . ." That evening the people of Pittsburgh put the property of the Pennsylvania Railroad to torch.

In the next days the troops again fired into civilian demonstrations that now raged throughout the city.

In the Chicago strike says Foner, "The tensions between Irish and Czech workers, as sharp as any in the city, suddenly became irrelevant in the common battle against the police, the authorities, and the 'respectable citizens.'"

Everywhere, however, the striking populace met the bullets of troops and police. The two-week-long insurrection against the rails was crushed in blood. Hundreds of strike leaders were arrested and imprisoned.

President Hayes wrote in his diary, August 5, "The strikers have been put down by force. . . ."

Socialists

In these battles socialists, newly organized into the Workingmen's Party of the United States, played leading roles wherever they could. In Cincinnati Peter Clark, a Black socialist, was a chief organizer of the resistance. There and in St. Louis, large numbers of Black workers fought in the strikes.

And Albert Parsons, then a young radical in Chicago, addressed huge audiences as an avowed revolutionary and enemy of railroad magnates Scott and Vanderbilt. Parsons would later become a martyr of the Haymarket protests of working people in Chicago on "May Day" 1886.

But in 1877 the railroad workers and their allies were virtually unorganized. They could not wage an effective resistance against the brutal onslaught of the employers and their government. Strike leaders were fired and blacklisted. Fledgling unions sprang up in the struggle only to disappear afterwards, for the most part. The railroads were soon to enter into one of the most spectacular and profitable booms in American history.

(next: *Debs vs. railroads*)

Reading on rail

A Struggle for Union Democracy by Ed Heisler. 48 pages, \$.75

Hear That Lonesome Whistle Blow by Dee Brown. 312 pages, \$2.50

The Great Labor Uprising of 1877 by Dr. Philip S. Foner. 288 pages, \$3.95

Eugene V. Debs, A Biography by Ray Ginger. \$3.95

Eugene V. Debs Speaks edited by Jean Tussey. 320 pages, \$4.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please add \$.50 for postage, \$.75 if order for more than one book.

Karen Silkwood memorial

Antinuke activists set Nov. 11-19 protests

By Arnold Weissberg

November 13, the fourth anniversary of the death of Karen Silkwood, will be marked by antinuclear activists, feminists, and militant unionists across the country.

Silkwood worked in Kerr-McGee's Cimarron plutonium plant, near Oklahoma City. She was active in her union, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.

Silkwood became concerned about worker exposure to plutonium. Plant management and safety procedures were very sloppy. So she began to investigate.

On the evening of November 13, 1974, Silkwood left work to meet with a *New York Times* reporter. She was carrying a sheaf of documents to prove her charges about lax safety and health precautions at the Cimarron plant.

She never made it. She died in an auto crash, the cause of which remains unknown. An investigator hired by OCAW declared that Silkwood's car had been struck from behind and run off the road.

The documents disappeared.

Silkwood's parents have filed suit against Kerr-McGee and the FBI, charging them with complicity in her death. In pretrial legal moves, they have learned that Silkwood was under surveillance by the FBI, Kerr-McGee, and local cops.

In recent years there have been a growing number of Silkwood memorial actions. This year's promise to be the biggest yet.

The Silkwood case has become an important part of the anti-nuclear power movement. Both the National No-Nukes Strategies Conference in August and the Mobilization for Survival national conference in September called for a week of coordinated anti-nuclear protests November 11-19.

The National Organization for



Karen Silkwood worked at Cimarron Kerr-McGee plant. She was killed after challenging its inadequate safety measures.

Women national conference this month passed a resolution urging "active participation in November 13 Silkwood Memorial Day Actions and the national rally in Oklahoma City, thereby upholding the right of workers to health and safety protection on the job and redress under the Civil Rights Act for severe harassment of union leaders."

These actions will take place in dozens of cities. The *Militant* will keep readers abreast of many of these actions. A few already planned are:

- A national action in **Oklahoma** November 13. Marchers will proceed from the Kerr-McGee plant to the site of Silkwood's death. The march will be followed by a rally at Kerr-McGee's Oklahoma City headquarters. For more information contact Supporters

of Silkwood, 317 Pennsylvania Avenue Southeast, Washington, D.C. 20003, or call (202) 547-6500.

- **New York City.** A teach-in Sunday, November 12, at 4 p.m., at Horace Mann Auditorium, One hundred twentieth Street and Broadway. The teach-in is cosponsored by the Shad Alliance and Mobilization for Survival.

- A teach-in at **Arizona State University** in Tempe November 13, sponsored by Mobilization for Survival.

- A demonstration at the **Turkey Point, Florida**, nuclear power plant (near Miami) November 11, followed by an eight-day walk to the state capital, Tallahassee. In addition the Conchshell Alliance, a Miami-area antinuke group, will sponsor a series of educational activities and films during the week.

Judge dismisses key charge in Silkwood case

On September 25, Judge Frank Theis dismissed conspiracy charges against Kerr-McGee Corporation officials and FBI agents in the Karen Silkwood case. Theis declared that even if all charges of illegal wiretaps and other violations of Silkwood's rights as a union activist were proven, the Federal Civil Rights Act did not guarantee her protection.

Lawyers for the Silkwood family have announced that they will appeal Judge Theis's decision to the Tenth Circuit Court in Denver, Colorado.

During August, the Silkwood family appealed to the court seeking discovery evidence from six surveillance organizations, including the Oklahoma City Police Intelligence Unit and other government agencies. All six agencies refused to cooperate. Some even stated that they will refuse to hand over materials to the Silkwood family whether or not a court order directs them to do so.

Judge Theis has not yet taken up charges accusing Kerr-McGee with contamination of Karen Silkwood and her apartment a week before her death. The trial on this charge is expected to begin in January 1979.

Women and the YSA

By Diane Wang

Think about this:

- One million women under twenty years old in this country get pregnant each year. Six of every ten give birth. Yet Congress is planning to authorize only \$60 million to help them.

- It is estimated that one-third of the Hyde amendment's victims who are denied Medicaid funds for abortion are young women. About 15,000 of them are under the age of fourteen.

- Although women are 52 percent of the campus population, in 1975 they received only 12.5 percent of the degrees in law, medicine, and other professions.

- As of last December the government had on hand 3,000 affirmative-action complaints against colleges and universities from women and oppressed national minorities.

- No wonder feminism is alive and growing among young women!

Around the country Young Socialist Alliance members are active in women's liberation groups, just as they are part of the antinuke movement, the African solidarity campaign, and other struggles.

In some places YSA members are part of campus chapters and task forces set up by the National Organization for Women. The Amherst College NOW, for example, sent a busload to the national July 9 ERA march. That chapter's experience was not unique, even though schools were only holding summer sessions then.

This fall these campus NOW groups are doing even more. Pittsburgh campus NOW sent eighteen women to the recent NOW convention after having

literature tables and forums on the University of Pittsburgh campus since it opened.

In California, YSA members who are part of the NOW campus task force are helping petition to reopen the childcare center closed by San Francisco State University. A rally of about 200 students was held to protest the closing.

In other places, such as Chicago and Houston, YSA members are part of campus women's liberation unions.

The YSA's monthly newspaper, the *Young Socialist*, has been campaigning for the ERA and women's rights. The current issue, for example, has a back-page feature explaining why the ERA is crucial to every aspect of women's fight for liberation.

The YSA is encouraging campus and high school feminists to attend the YSA national convention scheduled for December 28 through January 1. Workshops on women's liberation will give people a chance to compare experiences and discuss what to do next to ratify the ERA, defend affirmative action from the *Weber* lawsuit, and save abortion rights.

The convention is being held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania—one of the thirty-five states that has ratified the ERA. The YSA, like the Socialist Workers Party and hundreds of other organizations, has agreed to honor NOW's boycott of unratified states.

Sessions will be held at the William Penn Hotel. Rooms there range in cost from \$6.75 to \$27.00 per person. Cheaper mass housing will also be available.

For more information about the convention, use the coupon on this page.



Read the 'Young Socialist'

In the October 'Young Socialist' read about the Equal Rights Amendment—why it is crucial and how it can be won. Come to the YSA convention in Pittsburgh December 28-January 1 to discuss the drive for women's rights, the fight against nukes, solidarity with the South African freedom struggle, and more.

☐ Send me a copy of the *Young Socialist* (25¢ each, 20¢ each for bundles).

☐ Enclosed is \$1.00 for a six month subscription to the *Young Socialist*.

☐ Send me a free copy of the *Young Socialist* reprint on the campaign to end U.S. ties to South Africa (3¢ each for bundle orders).

☐ Send me the 'Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose' button (50¢ each, 25¢ each for 10 or more).

☐ Send me more information about the Young Socialist Alliance and its December 28-January 1 convention.

☐ I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Join the YSA

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip Code _____

YSA, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003

Cleveland unionists hear Drake Koka

By Kathleen Fitzgerald

CLEVELAND—Black South African unionist Drake Koka received a warm response from the Cleveland labor movement during his tour here October 6-8.

An October 7 meeting for Koka at Cleveland State University was sponsored by many union organizations and officials. These included the Cuyahoga Medina United Auto Workers Community Action Program Council; Thurman Payne, president, UAW Local 1250; Al Forney, president, United Steelworkers Local 1157; William Burris, president of the Cleveland local of the American Postal Workers Union; John Vinegard, president of Hotel, Motel, Restaurant and Bartenders union; Steve Hatch, executive secretary, Newspaper Guild; Juanita Griffin, president of the Cleveland Coal-



Koka at Cleveland State University

tion of Black Trade Unionists, and others.

Noble Cylar, a member of UAW Local 1250, spoke at the meeting along with Koka.

Nearly 100 people attended the meeting. Thabo Ntweng and Glen Arnodo, who are coordinating Koka's tour in the area, report that the majority of those at the meeting were trade unionists.

Arnodo said that at its last meeting, the UAW CAP Council had urged UAW members to attend the meeting and had distributed leaflets to be posted on union bulletin boards inside the plants. Many auto workers who attended did so because they had seen these leaflets.

Ntweng and Arnodo are members of UAW locals 217 and 451.

The following day Koka spoke at a

reception at the Cleveland Plaza Hotel organized by the Black Labor Leadership Caucus and the A. Philip Randolph Institute. The BLLC was recently formed by Black delegates to the Cleveland Federation of Labor.

During his tour, Koka also spoke at Cuyahoga Community College and Oberlin College. At both campuses, students are planning to attend the November 19 divestment conference in New York City organized by the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa.

Koka also appeared on WJMO, the major Black radio station in Cleveland, and on "Black on Black," an ABC television program shown throughout the Midwest. The *Plain Dealer* and the *Call and Post*, the local Black newspaper, both interviewed Koka.

Activists demand Yale dump So. Africa stock

By Omari Musa

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—"Yale out of South Africa—Divest Now!" was the chant, as seventy-five activists here protested the school's holdings in U.S. firms doing business in South Africa.

The protest, which occurred during inauguration ceremonies for Yale's new president, was organized spontaneously by people attending a steering committee meeting of the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA).

The meeting was laying plans for the NECLSA conference on southern Africa slated for New York University November 17-19.

As the robed dignitaries lined up for their procession, NECLSA members marched through the audience that had gathered in the square to view the event.

Much to the chagrin of Yale officials, many in the audience applauded the protesters. Some asked for literature on the NECLSA conference and on Yale's investments in U.S. companies profiting from apartheid. The school has more than \$170 million invested in such firms.

As the procession filed out of the square, protesters followed it, chanting, "Apartheid is racism—

Yale out of South Africa now!" Then—fired by the enthusiasm generated at the protest—the NECLSA activists continued their meeting.

The steering committee approved an agenda for the NECLSA conference, which will begin with a rally the night of November 17.

On November 18 there will be workshops on such topics as: U.S. corporations and foreign policy in southern Africa; working with trade unions and antinuclear organizations; reaching out to Blacks, latinos, and Asian-Americans; and strategy and tactics.

On November 19 there will be a plenary session, where proposals for future actions will be discussed and voted on.

The meeting heard reports on upcoming campus divestment actions, many of which are pegged around board of trustees meetings in October and November.

The meeting also unanimously endorsed the October 20-22 Midwest South African solidarity conference hosted by the Divestiture Working Group. That gathering is to be held at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois.

For more information on the November 17-19

conference, contact: NECLSA c/o American Committee on Africa, 305 East Forty-sixth Street, New York, New York 10017.



...Woods

Continued from back page

During World War II, Vorster was a leader of the Ossewa Brandwag, the "Oxwagon Sentinel," an organization that was "pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic," Woods says. "It was in South Africa, Vorster would say, what National Socialism was in Germany and fascism was in Italy. It sought to bar Jewish emigration to South Africa after the Second World War."

Woods sees similarities between Israel and South Africa. Both regimes have "dispossessed another people."

The Israeli government's proposals for control over Arab populations remind Woods of the apartheid government's cynical "homeland policies" for Blacks. Israel is creating something like an "Arab Transkei," he says.

Finish with racism

Who do the Black South Africans see as their allies?

Not the U.S. State Department, which "defends American business interests," Woods answers.

What about the Cubans?

"They are seen by the vast majority of Blacks as liberators. If Cuban troops marched into Pretoria, 90 percent of the Black community would cheer them as liberators."

Woods rejects the cold-war rhetoric

that labels African liberation fighters as Soviet or Chinese puppets.

"There are no African puppets," he insists. South African freedom fighters "turned to the West, to the United States, for aid and were rejected," he recalls.

Those whom the U.S. government's 1950s-style hysteria has defined as puppets are "the real George Washingtons of Africa."

Woods's family now lives in London, England. He temporarily resides in the United States, working under a Nieman fellowship at Harvard University. This has enabled him to see that white racism in America is deeper and more widespread than he had imagined from afar.

Woods has been to Harlem, Watts, Roxbury, and southside Chicago viewing the ghetto oppression of Blacks in America. And he has been stunned by what he has seen.

He notes this before the predominantly white student audience at the University of Delaware. "If I were a young American, the most exciting thing for me would be to finish . . . the job" of eliminating racism. There is a burst of applause.

'Biko would have laughed'

Though the movement in solidarity with the struggle in South Africa is still at a beginning, Woods sees a "massive response" developing on

campuses in the future.

He urges the formation of campus groups to "protest, campaign, and pressure the administration to divest." Every such action is "a blow to the apartheid regime, further isolating it."

"Great numbers of American Blacks are getting stoked up about South Africa," Woods says. Students and the Black community are "two powerful constituencies" that can "put pressure on the American government as was done around the Vietnam War."

What about marches on Washington? "I think it would be wonderful if there were a huge demonstration in Washington demanding freedom for Nelson Mandela. That would have a big impact in South Africa."

Mandela, a central leader of the banned African National Congress, has been a prisoner on South Africa's notorious Robben Island for sixteen years. He is sixty years old, and, says Woods, "the most important South African Black leader."

Woods's calls for action and protest surprise him. "I have become an activist," he says. His relationship with, and education by, Steve Biko challenged him to be more than a conscience-stricken editor on the sidelines. "Steve Biko would have gotten a laugh at how I have turned out," he says.

After Woods was banned, it became almost impossible for him to continue

the struggle in South Africa.

He was forbidden to be with more than one person at a time, barred from writing for publication, and stripped of all other rights.

The decision for self-exile "liberated me and my family," he says.

The police stepped up their torment of the Woods near the end of their stay in South Africa. Government security agents anonymously mailed his five-year-old daughter a Steve Biko T-shirt. It was dusted with acid powder that burned her eyes and body as she put it on.

"They," Woods says, referring to the agents, "can kill without thinking."

Since their escape, all of Donald and Wendy Woods's financial resources and property have been confiscated.

For what he has written, Donald Woods faces a possible death sentence should he return to South Africa.

He rarely ventures out at night near his present residence in Cambridge. "I am nearly positive I am being watched by South African security police," Woods says.

Despite these threats, Woods continues to arouse the anger of his audiences as he tells them about South Africa, the role of western investment, and the urgent need to join the battle against a system whose "race laws are the worst since Hitler's."

African solidarity notes



Koka tours New Jersey, New York

South African trade-union leader Drake Koka spoke to an audience of more than 150 people at Rutgers University in Newark October 11.

The meeting was sponsored by the Black Organization of Students, Black Studies Department, African Students Association, and Young Socialist Alliance.

After the meeting, the Black Organization of Students hosted a reception for Koka attended by sixty students.

Earlier, Koka addressed a meeting of 100 students at Arts High School. They were interested in the case of eleven Soweto students now on trial in South Africa for their role in the June 1976 Black rebellion. Koka has been named a "co-conspirator" in that trial.

Thirty students signed up to help organize participation in the African liberation solidarity conference at New York University November 17-19.

Koka received a standing ovation from an audience of 350 when he concluded his remarks at an October 13 meeting at Columbia University in New York City.

The meeting was co-sponsored by the Drake Koka Tour Committee and the Committee Against Investments in South Africa (CAISA).

Other speakers at the Columbia meeting included Michael Harrington, national chairperson, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; Rohima Miah of the New York University Coalition Against Apartheid; Eli Green from the Koka tour committee; and a representative of CAISA.

Leon Harris, chairperson of the tour committee and president of the Greenwich Village-Chelsea NAACP, chaired the meeting.

Columbia University television videotaped the gathering.

The NYU Coalition Against Apartheid also hosted a meeting for Koka. More than seventy students participated, and many signed up to help organize the upcoming conference on South Africa.

Koka also spoke at Cornell University in Ithaca.

Increasing trade-union support

The Detroit tour committee reports growing support for Koka among auto workers in that city.

United Auto Workers local 140 and 235 have endorsed the tour, and both donated \$100 to defray costs. UAW Local 22 President Frank Runnels donated the local's hall for tour planning meetings, and Local 212 has made its hall available for Koka's city-wide meeting.

Maurice Long from Solidarity House (the UAW international headquarters) and Ivory Tillman of the American Postal Workers Union have also lent their support to Koka's tour.

Protests follow Ian Smith

Protests continue to greet Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith as he tours the United States attempting to sell his scheme for preserving white minority rule.

In New York, morning and evening picket lines were held October 12 protesting Smith's visit. Four hundred people participated in the two actions.

In Atlanta, more than 200 people protested Smith. The action was called by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and heard statements from Coretta Scott King and SCLC President Joseph Lowery.

Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson also participated in the protest.

In San Diego, 200 people greeted Smith and his Black collaborator Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole when they arrived at the United Press International annual conference at the Hotel Del Coronado.

The protest was sponsored by the San Diego Black Federation and NAACP. It was endorsed by many MECHA chapters; NIA, a Black cultural organization; World Community of Islam in the West; Tom Hayden's Committee for Economic Democracy; and the Young Socialist Alliance.

NOW workshop urges divestment

About eighty people attending the minority women's workshop at the recent National Organization for Women national conference in Washington, D.C., voted unanimously in favor of ending all U.S. investment in South Africa. The workshop's resolution urged NOW to take a position for divestiture and to review NOW's own financial policy to make sure none of its funds are in banks doing business with South Africa.

The resolution has been referred to the NOW National Board for consideration.

Morgantown, West Virginia. . .

Fifty-eight people met at West Virginia University September 28 to form the Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa.

The coalition's first activity was an October 6 picket line at the meeting of the West Virginia University Foundation Board of Trustees.

A delegation from the coalition asked the foundation's executive director, Lysander Dudley, to divulge its holdings in U.S. firms operating in South Africa. Dudley refused.

In 1976, the foundation held \$2.5 million in companies profiting from apartheid, including Gulf Oil, IBM, Union Carbide, and General Tire and Rubber Company.

. . . Pittsburgh

On October 12 the University of Pittsburgh Out of South Africa Coalition held its first meeting.

The meeting endorsed the November 17-19 South Africa conference sponsored by the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa, and the tour of South African trade-union leader Drake Koka.

—Omari Musa

Virginia Kiezel: longtime socialist, UFW supporter

By Paul Montauk

When Virginia Kiezel decided to join the Socialist Workers Party in the early 1950s, her decision was a serious one. The period was marked by a witch-hunt encouraged by the government and employers to enforce thought control and to blacklist socialists and other trade-union militants as "subversives."

Her decision reflected a belief in, and commitment to fight for, a better world. Until her death this summer at the age of forty-nine, she spent the rest of her life as a revolutionist and militant fighter for the working class.

Ginny (as we called her) was raised in a working-class family. Her first jobs were as a waitress, because she had never been able to complete her formal education. This provided part of her motivation and determination to fight for socialism.

Ginny was justly proud in 1959 when she and eight others were chosen to be full-time students at the Trotsky School, an intensive education center run by the SWP. There, for six months, she participated in a study of Marxist method and history.

Originally a member of the San Francisco branch of the SWP, Ginny returned to Oakland, California, after her stay at the Trotsky School to play an important role in the SWP's efforts to defend the Cuban revolution and participate in the civil rights and student movements.

In 1962, when César Chávez and others formed the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), launching a struggle to organize the farm workers, Ginny was one of the first to come to their aid.

In the fall of 1965, when the NFWA and the AFL-CIO Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee called 1,500 predominantly Filipino farm workers out on strike, Ginny helped organize strike support.

United Auto Workers Local 1364

formed a farm workers support committee, and Ginny became one of its main builders. She devoted almost all her time to raising funds and organizing caravans carrying much-needed food and clothing to the embattled strikers in Delano.

Bill Kiezel was Ginny's longtime companion and a UAW militant. They opened their home as a center for supporters of the farm workers.

In her last year, Ginny traveled frequently from Fremont to Oakland to staff the Pathfinder bookstore, selling literature and discussing with many people the need for socialism.

After her death, her contributions were acknowledged and appreciated at a gathering organized by the UFW in La Paz, California.

On July 23, UAW Local 1364 made its hall available for a memorial meeting. The meeting was attended by more than 150 people, including members of the SWP, UFW, UAW, and other friends.

Some fifteen speakers rose to briefly recount Ginny's contributions.

Art Sharon spoke for the SWP, and a letter from César Chávez was read, praising Ginny's "dedication to the farm workers' struggle." In response to an appeal by Jeff Mackler, more than \$300 was collected and donated in her name to the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Speaking about Ginny's efforts on behalf of her class, Philip Vera Cruz, former vice-president of the UFW, stated:

"What is happening today is no longer affecting the farm workers alone—it's affecting the whole American society. The ideas of the farm workers' struggle will grow and be exported to other countries. . . . What workers produce should benefit workers—Virginia Kiezel's life was not wasted."

I believe Ginny would agree with that.

Have you
heard what
they say
about
this book?



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Labor solidarity needed

Canadian postal workers hit the bricks

By Shelley Kramer

On October 17, 22,000 members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers walked off their jobs. Letter carriers, organized in a separate union, have vowed to respect CUPW picket lines, helping to shut postal service down tight.

The CUPW's national executive board authorized the strike after eleventh-hour negotiations with the government failed to produce an agreement. Seventy-eight percent of the postal workers cast strike votes in week-long balloting.

Prime Minister Trudeau's Liberal Party government has prepared back-to-work legislation—including a provision for binding arbitration to break the postal strike. At this writing, the legislation is before parliament.

There is already a law on the books granting postal workers the right to strike. So CUPW President Jean-

Claude Parrot has said it will be up to the workers themselves to decide which law to obey. At a Toronto mass meeting, however, Parrot made his own stand clear.

"I intend to come out publicly and ask you to disobey the [back to work] law," he announced. "It's not that I would like to go to jail, but I can tell you now, I would never recommend the membership go back to work."

The 2,500 workers gave Parrot's remarks a standing ovation.

Among the postal workers' demands are wage increases and full cost-of-living protection; thirty hours' work for forty hours' pay to protect 8,000 jobs that will otherwise be lost to automation; and improvement in working conditions that have steadily deteriorated within the huge, automated postal factories. For its part, the government is intent on doing away with the cost-of-living clause altogether and

holding wages within its 6 percent controls.

Canada's wage controls are slated to be lifted soon. But Bill C-28, now pending in parliament, would apply selective controls to government workers. The postal strike is seen as a test of resistance to C-28—and to the government's growing reliance on strikebreaking back-to-work legislation. Just last month, Toronto transit workers were forced back to their jobs by government order. The letter carriers were also coerced into their latest contract.

Solidarity with the postal workers—and opposition to C-28—is beginning to gain momentum. The Provisional Council of Ontario Secondary Schools Teacher Federation and the National Union of Students have both issued statements to this effect.

Striking INCO nickel workers in Ontario, organized by the United Steelworkers union, are also backing CUPW.

And some leaders of the Canadian Union of Public Employees have spoken up for the CUPW workers. These include the president of the 6,000-strong CUPE Local 79, the treasurer of the Toronto Metro CUPE Council, and seventy-five CUPE delegates to a Metro-Toronto-area conference.

This fall U.S. postal workers have been victims of Carter's 5.5 percent wage guidelines and stepped-up automation. They have a clear stake in solidarizing with their Canadian brothers and sister, who are challenging wage controls and demanding job security.

A show of support from postal workers and other unionists in this country can help the CUPW strikers win their demands and beat back Trudeau's attacks. Telegrams of support can be sent to: Canadian Union of Postal Workers, 280 Metcalfe Street, Ottawa, Canada.

Postal unions OK pact; 37 more fired in N.J.

By Nancy Cole

Under a cloud of confusion, the ranks of the nation's two largest postal unions have approved a government arbitrator's three-year contract.

The American Postal Workers Union voted 127,588 to 21,206 for ratification. The National Association of Letter Carriers' vote was reportedly overwhelmingly for approval.

After the first contract was rejected by three postal unions in August, threats of a nationwide strike forced the U.S. Postal Service back to the bargaining table. When no agreement was reached after fifteen days, however, the federal mediator/arbitrator announced he would impose a settlement.

That contract included only a slightly higher pay raise than the one in the rejected offer—21.3 percent over

three years including the cost-of-living adjustment. Plus it backtracked on the original agreement to maintain the no-layoffs clause. Only those currently employed will be guaranteed a job. New hires will have to work six years to qualify.

The government maintained the arbitrated settlement was binding and that it didn't matter what the ranks said about it. But the president of both the APWU and NALC were in the midst of reelection bids and feared repercussions. They put the offer to a vote. What would happen if it were rejected was purposely kept muddled by the union officials.

In the elections, the ranks of the NALC expressed their displeasure with the way negotiations had been conducted by ousting incumbent Joseph Vacca. Elected union president was

Vincent Sombretto, head of the local in New York City, the center of opposition to the contract. The APWU vote isn't tallied yet.

Back in July, Carter thought his ram-it-down-their-throats approach in the postal talks would quickly bring him his first national "inflation fighting" contract. But the ranks of the postal unions dragged it out for more than eighty days. Despite laws forbidding a postal strike—and despite plenty of threats of firings and arrests—the specter of a national strike always hung over Carter's head.

When postal workers in Jersey City, New Jersey, and Richmond, California, struck in protest of the first contract offer, some 200 of them were fired.

The government is continuing that object lesson in an effort to teach

postal workers and other public employees that they have no right to object to what is offered them. Postmaster General William Bolger is still firing and disciplining participants in the July wildcat strikes. In New Jersey, 37 more were fired this month, 116 suspended, and 2,300 given "letters of warning."

Bolger "has declared war on the postal workers," declared Moe Biller, president of the New York Metro APWU. "This is union busting, and we will not take it." Biller ordered the 23,000 members of his local to begin a "rule book" slowdown until amnesty is granted.

The grievance procedures involved in such disciplinary actions, Biller charged, will take up to eight years to judicate and will cost the "economy-minded" postal service \$2 million.

Union militants win S.F. restaurant strike

By Nat Weinstein

SAN FRANCISCO—Striking waitresses, busboys, and cooks from the Zim's coffee shop chain here voted eighty-six to fourteen on October 9 to end their sixty-seven-day strike, accepting a contract proposed by the union's negotiating committee.

One hundred fifteen of the more than 200 striking Zim's workers voted on the contract at the Hotel, Restaurant and Bartenders Union Local 2 headquarters. Fifteen of the ballots were challenged.

Strike committee member Mike Koblentz said that this was the first major strike in the city's restaurant industry in thirty-five years. David McDonald, who had been elected president of Local 2 last April, announced, "All the economic demands of the union were won."

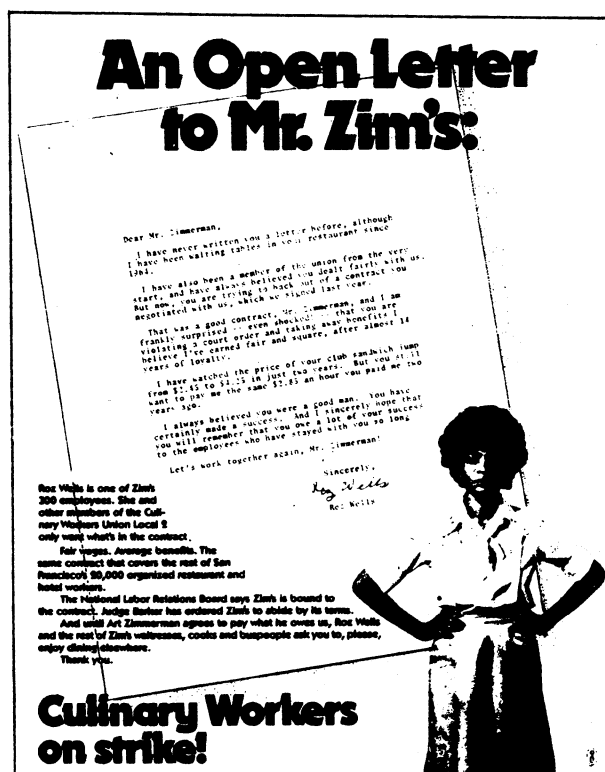
McDonald and other union spokespersons explained that the economic demands of the strike were the same ones agreed to in September 1977 by the restaurant employers' bargaining group, the Golden Gate Restaurant Association. Zim's withdrew from the association in April 1977, refusing to honor the industry agreement and precipitating the strike.

Local 2 representatives point out that the settlement is a clear-cut victory.

Under the contract, which expires in 1981, Zim's workers will now be paid the same wages, fringe benefits, and yearly raises set by the association contract. They will also get lump-sum payments of several hundred dollars each. This will cover raises Zim's did not pay between the time of its withdrawal from the association and the end of the strike.

During the strike Zim's employees maintained such effective and militant picket lines that management closed four of its stores. Business was way down in the other seven.

"It was the most successful strike in San Francisco in recent years," said one member of Local 2.



Leaflet distributed by striking Zim's employees

"It was rank-and-file led, and I think that made the difference."

The strike-winning policy used against Zim's can be directly traced to the rank-and-file reform movement that won a significant victory in the union elections last April. The previous administration, headed by former Local 2 President Joe Belardi, had called a strike against three Zim's stores a year ago. But the officials ordered union members to cross the picket lines they had set up!

The union reform group, the Alliance for the

Rank and File (ARF), campaigned on a program that stressed democratic control over union policy. This was seen as an integral step in mobilizing the ranks in the fight to win better wages, hours, and working conditions.

Nine of the fifteen ARF-supported candidates were elected. They won three out of the eight executive positions.

They did not succeed in winning a majority of the executive board. This permitted holdovers from the former administration to stall and stymie policy changes promised by the ARF-supported slate. The divided control over the union and the consequent struggles to win membership support by the opposing sides provided the pretext for intervention by the officials of the international union.

When David McDonald, the successful ARF candidate for Local 2 president, broke with ARF forces, he and the executive board majority invited the international union to step in and give "administrative assistance" to the local.

An "administrative agent," international organizer Vincent Sirabella, was appointed by the international. He moved to impose unilateral control over the local union. With Local 2 in de facto receivership, all officers and agents were suspended. The suspended former officials were then rehired as "employees" of the union.

Although Sirabella joined the negotiating team and played a positive role in negotiations, according to union militants, the international union's intervention threatens to block further development of the kind of militant and democratic policies that led to one of the few Bay Area labor victories in recent years.

Pointing to the methods employed to win the strike, Mike Koblentz, a Local 2 organizer, commented, "The times of peace and coexistence on the bosses' terms are over."

No 'island paradise'

Poverty, exploitation rampant in Jamaica

By Jon Britton

In August, after a fourteen-week strike, workers at the Gore Brothers' tile factory in Jamaica won a 30% wage increase and substantial fringe benefits, including work uniforms, a lunch allowance, twelve weeks' maternity leave with full pay, and an insurance scheme.

The victory was especially noteworthy in that the wage increase decisively broke through a 15% ceiling that had been laid down by Prime Minister Michael Manley at the behest of the United States-dominated International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The tile workers have not been the only ones to resist Manley's austerity drive. This year has also seen strikes by teachers, bank clerks, sugar workers, bus drivers, cement workers, dockers, and tobacco workers.

The IMF demanded new belt-tightening measures in return for a US\$244 million loan, agreed to in May. These included a 30% devaluation of the Jamaican dollar (on top of a similar devaluation last year); new taxes on such items as gasoline, cigarettes, and alcohol; rigid limits on public expenditures; cuts in public subsidies; hikes in bus fares of 40%-50%; and wage controls.

As a Finance Ministry official explained it, the strategy of Manley and the IMF was to use a "jolt of inflation to help dampen workers' buying power and bring consumption into line with production."

Consumption was indeed slashed as prices rose sharply for almost everything, including basic necessities. With workers deprived of catch-up pay increases, retail sales fell sharply, in some cases by as much as 40%, according to Art Pine writing in the July 24 *Washington Post*.

Pine pointed out that many Jamaican workers still earn the national minimum of \$24 a week.

Manley signed an agreement with the IMF last year for a loan of US\$74 million. But by December, despite severe austerity measures, the government had failed to meet some of the IMF's requirements, and the credit was withdrawn. Almost immediately, Manley, hat in hand, began begging the IMF for an even bigger handout.

Last February, an IMF "field team" flew to Jamaica to begin negotiations, but—with the previous year's performance in mind—insisted on a much tougher set of conditions. The government was forced even before the talks began to agree to an additional currency devaluation of 15%.

Manley's appeals for IMF "aid" came in the context of a disastrous economic situation in this "island paradise" a hundred or so miles south of Cuba. Jamaica, which is roughly the size of Puerto Rico, may well be the only country in the world whose Gross Domestic Product declined every year since 1972.

Even before this year's stepped-up austerity drive, living conditions for the mass of Jamaicans were abominable. At the end of 1976 unemployment exceeded 25%, and inflation from 1976 through the first quarter of this year averaged more than 10% annually.

In 1970 in central Kingston one survey revealed that only 14% of all dwellings had water piped within the building; 80% of all households shared toilet facilities with others; and 43% of all dwellings had one room only.

More than 80% of the population is of African descent, and inequality based on race is extreme. In 1974 the top 5% of income earners (mostly whites) received the same proportion of all individual income as the bottom 60%.

Declining agricultural employment opportunities have resulted in large-scale migration into the cities from rural areas, further swelling the ranks of the urban unemployed.

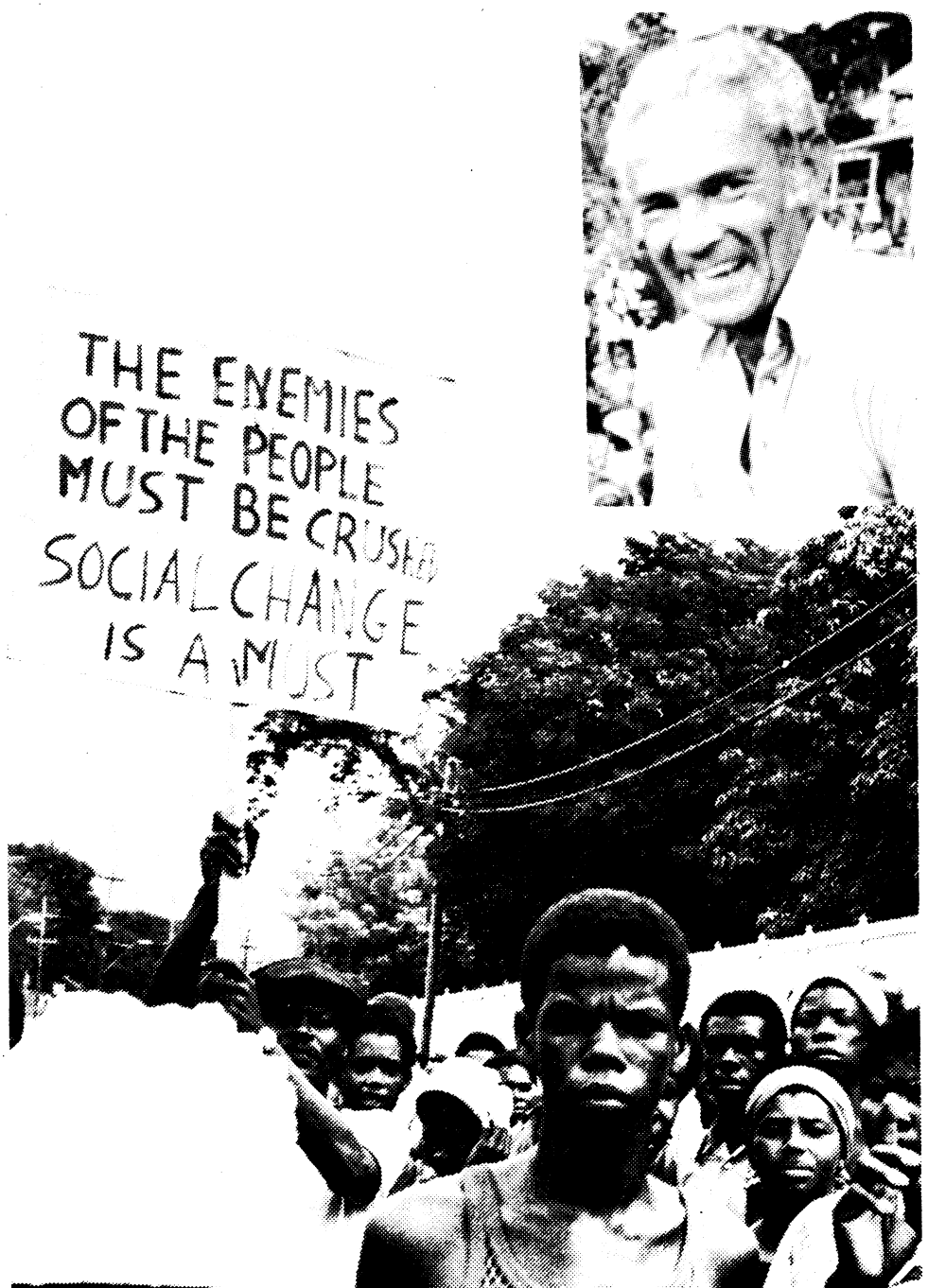
In 1973 more than half of the population of Jamaica was nineteen years old or younger. As a result of poverty, hopelessness, and frustration, many young people have turned to crime.

Michael Manley first led his People's National Party (PNP) to power in 1972. Founded by the prime minister's father, Norman Manley, in 1938, the PNP originally espoused a form of British Fabian socialism, calling for a cautious, evolutionary approach to economic development, guided by "Christian inspiration."

Following his election, Manley's initial response to Jamaica's pressing problems was to swing to the left. By 1974, the government had acquired several sugar plantations, Radio Jamaica, the island's electric company, and a larger shareholding in imperialist-owned bauxite and alumina operations. The PNP began to announce publicly that the days of capitalism were numbered.

Manley and the PNP maintained this left face through the December 1976 election, in which the PNP decisively defeated the rival, procapitalist Jamaican Labor Party (JLP).

Thus, in the months preceding the election, the PNP made an effort to attract the support of a number of popular militants. It also pushed to the



Despite 'socialist' demagoguery of Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley, masses have begun to resist capitalist austerity measures.

fore leaders, such as Donald K. Duncan, who were widely known as left-wingers.

Duncan subsequently became head of the new Ministry of National Mobilization, with responsibility for supervising the government's "People's Programs" and the "democratization" of education. Upon assuming his post, Duncan pressed for adoption of some aspects of Cuban education that combined academic studies and practical work experience.

Prior to the election, Manley had also become known for his leftist proclamations on foreign policy. He gave verbal support to African liberation movements such as the MPLA in Angola, championed the cause of the "Third World" with his support for a "new international economic order," and established friendly relations with Cuba and the Soviet bloc.

For awhile in 1976 it looked as if Manley might suffer the same fate as Chile's Salvador Allende. Economic chaos threatened as businessmen sent their money abroad, and gang warfare broke out between rival PNP and JLP supporters in which at least 300 persons died. The American CIA was widely suspected of instigating the violence.

In June, six months before the election, Manley declared a state of emergency, which wasn't lifted until the following year. In November all marches and public meetings were banned. His response to the "crime problem" was to use harsh repressive measures under the Gun Court legislation of 1974.

Under this law, police were given powers to arrest and detain anyone suspected of possessing or using firearms. Detainees, most of whom were under twenty-one years of age, were taken to a barbed-wire-enclosed com-

pound in the poor area of West Kingston, tried there, and given sentences that could be unlimited in length.

Despite these reactionary measures, Manley, with his radical rhetoric and slogan of "Socialist Time Now," was able to convince a majority of voters that he and his party were the best hope for progressive social change.

These hopes were soon to be dashed, however. By the time Manley was returned to office, the country was in a truly desperate situation. Unemployment and the cost of living were soaring. Some \$300 million [US\$273 million] in capital had been sent out of the country, and foreign reserves were exhausted. Imports were in danger of being cut off owing to a lack of funds to pay for them.

Instead of taking the Cuban road and mobilizing the masses for a socialist revolution, Manley moved to the right, agreeing to the harsh belt-tightening demanded by the international bankers in return for loans.

Financial aid was obtained from the IMF, the United States, Great Britain, and Norway. Devaluation of the currency and the other austerity measures followed. Soon Duncan and other left-wingers were purged from the PNP.

The workers of Jamaica have been handicapped in resisting Manley's austerity drive because the biggest unions are tied either to the PNP or to the JLP. Thus, in the case of the Gore workers, the union, although it called the strike, supported it only half-heartedly.

Nevertheless, the victory of these workers shows that the obstacle of a timid, class-collaborationist leadership can be overcome. Undoubtedly more workers will be following the Gore workers' example in the months to come.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Rebellion in Nicaragua

Why didn't Somoza fall?

The following article is reprinted from the October 16 issue of 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.' It has been edited for reasons of space.

By Fausto Amador

Since the murder of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro on January 1, and especially since the first general lockout staged against Somoza, various simultaneous and interconnected processes have been under way in Nicaragua.

There has been a growing mass upsurge, reflected in street demonstrations, strikes by students and workers, and spontaneous urban uprisings. Alongside this, small military commando units have been formed throughout the country, impelled more or less directly by the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN—Sandinista National Liberation Front). Broad social strata are represented in these units, including the upper layers of the petty bourgeoisie. Their main activity has been to acquire weapons, make bombs, and train for armed confrontations in the cities with Somoza's National Guard.

Along with these first two processes, all the opposition political forces have organized themselves in a bloc called the Frente Amplio Opositor (FAO—Broad Opposition Front), whose apparent unity scarcely conceals the heterogeneity of the elements involved.

The FAO has a multiclass base. It embraces the traditional bourgeois opposition (the Partido Conservador), splitoffs from Somoza's party, the "Twelve," both factions of the Partido Socialista Nicaragüense [PSN—Nicaraguan Socialist Party, the pro-Moscow Stalinists], and the trade-union bureaucrats.

The combination of these elements in political action has led to a tumultuous and apparently chaotic surge of activity on the Nicaraguan social scene.

Somoza regime's role

The Somoza regime has held out against the massive lockouts organized by the bourgeoisie against it, a succession of violent mass actions, guerrilla actions among the most spectacular in history, and finally an almost full-scale military offensive. If despite all this Somoza is maintaining himself in office, it is because of the special role the Somoza regime plays in the Nicaraguan power structure.

The formation of the bourgeois state in Nicaragua after independence from Spain was a slow and difficult process. Time and time again the ruling social layers found their political plans upset by imperialist intervention and peasant ferment.

In the 1930s, the Sandinista war finally shattered the fragile state structure that had been built up in the past. The state had to be rebuilt from the ground up under the protection of the U.S. army of occupation. The product of the counterrevolutionary U.S. intervention was the Somoza regime, in which form and content are indissolubly fused. It is the first bourgeois state power that has been able to maintain any long-term stability in Nicaragua since independence.

When the great upsurge of the mass movement precipitated the political crisis in Nicaragua, and the Somoza regime began to find its social base being eroded, the entire structure of the bourgeois state was faced with a

deadly threat. The crisis of the Somoza regime is an all-embracing crisis of the state and its institutions. If Somoza does not fall, despite his weakness, it is because his regime has monopolized the entire bourgeois political field. There is still no alternative that can replace it.

The crisis of the Somoza regime strikes at the very roots of bourgeois and imperialist power in Nicaragua. In their struggle against Somoza, the Nicaraguan masses are putting forward their own class demands, their aspiration for the land and control over the conditions in which they produce the wealth of the country.

The Somoza regime is the concrete form that the state apparatus has taken in Nicaragua. Today this form is eroded and decayed. The bourgeoisie and the imperialists want to abandon the Somoza regime and reorganize the state power in a more stable form. But they find no alternative that could serve even temporarily without threatening to bring down the whole state structure.

The rise of the mass movement is hastening the breakdown of the regime, robbing the native bourgeoisie and the imperialists of the time and the margin for maneuver they need.

Given the gravity of the situation, American imperialism had very few options. Somoza's fall would precipitate a deepening of the crisis of the

state power and would raise the need for completely reconstructing the state apparatus. This would force the imperialists and the bourgeoisie to find a governmental formula to fill the vacuum that the masses would undoubtedly try to fill on their own. Unless the imperialists could find such a formula, it would be impossible to restructure bourgeois rule in Nicaragua.

Theoretically, such a role could be played by a coalition involving a section of the army whose hands were not too bloodstained and which was ready to break with Somoza and gain some credibility in the eyes of the masses by joining with a section of the bourgeois opposition.

Another alternative open to imperialism was open military intervention and stationing occupation troops in Nicaragua. This threat will continue to hang over the Nicaraguan revolution that is in progress. But this is not an easy alternative to resort to either.

The political costs would be enormous and the consequences unforeseeable. Not only would the imperialists face the repudiation and mobilization of the masses in their own country, as happened during the Vietnam War, but an imperialist military intervention no matter under what cover it was carried out would threaten to touch off a general political crisis throughout the Central American region, which is

already unstable and highly explosive enough.

Faced with these alternatives, the U.S. imperialists opted for the least cost politically and the least risk. They chose to back Somoza and prop him up, at least for the moment.

The aid that the imperialists extended to Somoza had two clear political and military objectives. One was to inflict the greatest possible damage on the forces of the Sandinista Front. The other was to stage the most extensive massacre possible of the civilian population under the cover of the armed clashes.

The basic goals of this bloodthirsty strategy of terror were to halt the mass upsurge by a slaughter that would break its momentum, and to cripple the Sandinista Front's striking force. All this was simply to gain some time, a few weeks, or perhaps a month's respite, until they could find a more stable solution.

None of these goals, however, was achieved. In all the cities, the forces of the Sandinista Front were able to make their retreat in time and keep their ranks essentially intact. The effect of the massacre was to spur mass indignation. There are no apparent signs of falling spirits or demoralization.

At present the country is experiencing an ebb in the struggles. But this is basically a period in which the masses are catching their breath and it will probably be rather brief.

The events, on the other hand, have left the situation a thousand times more unstable than it was. The destruction of hundreds of factories and businesses is throwing masses of people out of work. The internal market is shrinking, and the Central American market has been disrupted.

There has been a massive and tumultuous flight of currency. On September 2 alone \$30 million was withdrawn from the banking system. But it was only on September 11 that measures were announced to prevent the flight of currency, and on September 12 the president of the Central Bank announced restrictions on transactions in currency. But all these measures barely scratched the surface and were directed against the public in general.

The Somoza regime had to let the bourgeoisie and its own acolytes take their money out of the country because if it had tried to prevent this it would have created a panic that would have accelerated its internal breakdown still more. Moreover, the bombings and the epidemics that followed have seriously disrupted the picking of the cotton crop, which is the country's major source of foreign exchange. Thousands of homes were destroyed.

Support of the masses

In every theater, the Sandinista Front's offensive enjoyed the complete sympathy, solidarity, and support of the masses. But this was an atomized support and solidarity; it was not organized. In most cases, it was only passive. The masses did not go into action directly, except in isolated cases. No organizations sprang up spontaneously, even in embryonic form.

The October revolution and the party of Lenin have left us important lessons in this area. The timing of the insurrection is crucial and must be based on the development of general political activity. It is when the independent action of the masses themselves



reaches its culmination that the revolutionary party launches the insurrection—that is, once it has assured that the organs of the mass movement themselves have reached the point where they are capable of undertaking a general, systematic, and organized offensive.

In Nicaragua, the Sandinista offensive occurred in the midst of an upsurge of struggles, but before this upsurge had become generalized or even given impetus to the spontaneous formation of independent class organs.

Finally, the type of action that took place in the cities offered little room for active and organized participation by the masses. Commando groups seized houses and concentrated on collecting what arms were available in the cities and in carrying out sniper ambushes against National Guard troops.

The Sandinista Front

Three public factions operate under the banner and the name of the front. The group known as the Terceristas [Third Force] is led mainly by Daniel Ortega, Victor Tirado, and Humberto Ortega. Normally, this group does not call itself a tendency but claims to represent the entire front. However, recently it has taken the name of the "Insurrectionary Tendency." The other tendencies are the Prolonged People's War Tendency, led mainly by Henry Ruiz and Tomás Borge; and the Proletarian Tendency, whose main leader is Jaime Wheelock.

Although the Proletarian Tendency reflects a certain inclination to break with the bourgeoisie, the programmatic and line differences among the three tendencies are not sufficient to justify placing greater political confidence in any one as against the others.

The Terceristas bear the direct responsibility both for promoting the bourgeois group of the "Twelve" and for the September offensive. The other tendencies, although in a subordinate way and with little enthusiasm, have collaborated actively in this.

For the moment, however, the various factions have managed to reach practical agreements as regards actions. No line has appeared that differs sharply from the strategy being followed and the common assessment of the process under way as bourgeois-democratic in character.

The September massacre, the biggest bloodbath in Nicaraguan history, was in itself a consequence of errors in political and military leadership. Some of the political factors that put the offensive in the wrong context have been pointed out. The actions of the FSLN were carried out separate from,

and to a certain extent to the detriment of, the activity that was brewing in the mass movement.

The extent of the destruction and slaughter carried out by the National Guard cannot fail to give impetus to extensive political realignment within the front. The Tercerista tendency preserved almost all its cadres. But sharp conflicts have developed in its command centers.

At present, all the general staffs of the FSLN are making a thoroughgoing reevaluation of their operations, and a crisis appears possible as a result of the differences that are emerging. The leading centers in the cities are coming into conflict with the national leadership. In some sectors this has reached the point of questioning this leadership, which is the product of a very complex historical process and has never been subjected to democratic supervision by the ranks.

Lines of cleavage are appearing over the policy to be adopted for the immediate period ahead. These differences center on whether the front should prepare for resuming the military offensive as soon as possible or whether it should organize a retreat, adopting a policy of developing closer links with the masses.

The internal situation among the forces organized in the Sandinista movement should make revolutionists still more cautious about giving political preference to one or another element. The pressure of the masses and the influence of the class struggle are also being reflected in these internal ideological struggles. These pressures could not fail to have an impact, but they are being reflected in a very distorted way.

We have to note, however, that in this process unfortunately no sector has moved toward dropping the assessment of the revolutionary process under way as bourgeois-democratic in character or toward abandoning the vanguardist strategy.

Political camp of masses

Despite all this, a qualitative change is taking place in the Nicaraguan political situation, owing to the offensive of the Sandinista Front and the massive popularity of the front's actions, to the regime's repression and decomposition, and to the resulting social and economic chaos.

The Sandinista movement is becoming a general camp that the masses identify with in the struggle against the Somoza regime.

The Sandinista Front is still not an organization of the masses. Neither, in

Continued on next page

World news notes

Antilabor law in India

Workers in Bombay, the major industrial center of India, are beginning to mobilize against a new repressive labor relations bill introduced into the lower house of parliament August 30.

The bill would take away the right of workers to strike "essential services." The regime can extend this definition to any industry it likes, thus effectively crippling strikes at will.

In "nonessential industries," the bill limits the right to strike to only those cases where a secret ballot is conducted by an appointed negotiating agent, and 60 percent of the workers vote to strike. Even then, the workers would have to give the company fourteen days' notice of their strike action.

The regime would have the power to appoint "legitimate" bargaining representatives—sometimes this could be the union, sometimes not—and its appointments would be final.

Picketing would be outlawed.



Striking government employees in Bombay. New legislation would outlaw many strikes.

ILA head calls for British boycott

Thomas Gleason, head of the 76,000-member International Longshoremen's Association, has called for a boycott of British goods to protest repression in Northern Ireland.

Gleason issued the call at a September 27 news conference held in New York City.

The press conference was organized by relatives of three Irish prisoners being held in Long Kesh: Willie Gallagher, Paul Leo Fleming, and Danny Harkin.

Said Gleason, "It's time to rouse ourselves. We tied up ships for human rights in Chile—we've got to do something about our own people."

"There is no next time if they lose this fight that has been going on for nine years. It's time to take the same stand against the British that we have against other countries."

Hundreds arrested in Guatemala strike

Hundreds of striking workers occupying government buildings in Guatemala City were attacked by police on October 10. The strike began October 2 to protest the doubling of bus fares from five cents to ten cents. After the strike went into its second day, the city council repealed the fare hike. But the workers voted to continue their strike until other demands are met. These include immediate resumption of all suspended bus service; resignation of the Guatemala City police chief; and freedom for all people arrested during the strike.

The strike affected the postal service, telegraph, Social Security administration, telephone operators, garbage collectors, and almost all city workers.

Political prisoners in Uruguay

Under increasing international pressure, the military regime in Uruguay has been forced to bring several political prisoners to trial. They have been interned without trial for five years.

The regime has accused the prisoners of being members of the Tupamaros guerrilla movement and has tried to paint them as violence-crazed fanatics. But Charles Krause, writing in the October 16 *Washington Post*, says, "Their heads shaved, their faces gaunt and their bodies lost in ill-fitting blue prison uniforms they looked as if they were barely surviving."

According to official sources, some 600 prisoners have been freed since the beginning of the year. Even if this is true, there would still be some 1,800 political prisoners in the regime's jails.

"Some of these 'communists,'" writes Krause, "according to diplomatic sources, did nothing more than sell lottery tickets to raise money for the Frente Amplio, a leftist coalition that polled about 18 percent in Uruguay's last election, held in 1971."

Amnesty International and the Inter-American Human Rights Commission estimate that 50-60,000 people have been questioned or detained for political reasons since the military seized power in 1976.

—Peter Archer

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...Somoza

Continued from preceding page

reality, was the July 26th Movement in Cuba.

The Sandinista Front is not an organization of the masses because the masses do not join it in order to organize themselves politically. The structure of the Sandinista Front on the one hand and the unorganized Sandinism of the masses on the other express the contradiction between the profound decomposition of bourgeois power and the crisis of revolutionary leadership.

This crisis is rooted in the organic weakness of the mass movement itself and in the historic abdication by the leaders of the Nicaraguan working-class organizations of their responsibility to provide class-struggle leadership.

The present situation is the combined product of the crisis of revolutionary leadership in Nicaragua, the rapid decay of the Somoza regime, and the rise of the masses, who have not yet formed their own class organizations. The Sandinista Front has been present in this entire process, monopolizing in practice all opposition to the regime in the political camp of the workers movement.

The crisis of revolutionary leadership is also expressed in the ranks of the Sandinistas themselves—their division into three sectors or political tendencies.

The absence of adequate leadership takes an unfortunate and tremendously costly toll on the masses. But this does not halt the profound decay of the regime.

The structures and organized cadres of the Sandinista National Liberation Front are a thousand times narrower than the broad, still inarticulate and formless Sandinism of the Nicaraguan masses. Not even the national leaders of the Sandinista Front, of whatever faction, enjoy anywhere near the same prestige and mass recognition that Fidel Castro had in Cuba, for example. Sandinism is a general attitude of the masses, and the Sandinista Front is the organization that benefits politically from this attitude.

In this situation, regardless of its program, allies, and governmental slogan, the Sandinista Front becomes more and more the broad camp in which the masses will choose to fight to deepen the revolution. After the recent events there are only two camps of battle in Nicaragua—Somoza and the imperialists, and the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

This does not mean that the only force in the Sandinista camp is the revolution. Quite the contrary: the Sandinistas' program, alliances, and governmental slogans represent serious, perhaps even mortal, dangers to the revolution. The counterrevolution will raise its head and will have to be fought within the Sandinista camp. But it is more and more evident from the recent developments in Nicaragua that the masses are identifying the Sandinista camp as the ground on which they will fight for their demands.

This situation determines the attitude of revolutionists in Nicaragua and throughout the world. Regardless of the leadership and its program, alliances, and governmental slogans, we revolutionists must place ourselves in a decisive and unconditional way in the camp of the Sandinista Front. We must support it against Somozaism and imperialism, as well as against the bourgeoisie that the front is trying to get close to. We oppose the Sandinista Front's alliances and program; we are struggling for a workers and peasants



Sandinista guerrilla fighters battle Somoza's National Guard

government and socialism. But we do so within the camp that the masses consider their own.

The governmental question

The slogan of a workers and peasants government is a generally correct propaganda formula that expresses the class character of the process under way. Obviously, we need to give it more of a concrete content. But it makes no sense whatever to try to determine what concrete expression the masses will give to the general slogan that reflects their striving for power in advance of any organized initiatives by them.

The Tercerista current in the Sandinista Front is the only one that has a concrete governmental slogan, and that slogan is bourgeois.

The formula for a government of the "Twelve" put forward by the Terceristas has a great political importance. It conceals the class and revolutionary character of the current process. It is having a detrimental effect on the revolutionary process right now; the "Twelve" do not actually have to come to power for this to happen. It means that the political alternative Sandinism offers the masses—who identify it with their interests and aspirations—is a bourgeois governmental formula that respects capitalist property relations.

The "Twelve" are even more than this. They are a direct link to the rest of the bourgeois opposition, to imperialism, and to the Latin American ruling classes.

The "Twelve" do not represent any real organized political force; their entire political weight comes from the fact that the Sandinistas have chosen them as their representatives. The endorsement of the Sandinista Front is their only strength.

For the Sandinistas, the bourgeois "Twelve" are proof of its "good will," of its noncommunist and nonrevolutionary intentions. With their political weight as representatives of the Sandinista Front, the "Twelve" are just another component in the array of bourgeois forces within the Broad Opposition Front. As such, they merely serve as a bridge between the Sandinistas and the bourgeois opposition as a whole.

The breathing spell imperialism hoped to gain from the Nicaraguan Black September has become the heavy, ominous kind of lull that precedes great storms.

Formulas for compromise and conciliation, intervention by the church or by the OAS, proposals for change and

promises of action—these are all ineffective smokescreens. The crisis of the regime is continuing to intensify and deepen. In all probability, imperialism will be forced to replace it before long.

It is possible, however, that Somoza will not be docile and reasonable enough to go along with the moves and the whims of imperialism. It is even likely that he will not be, given the monstrous size of the economic empire he has to defend for himself and for his stooges as well.

So to get rid of Somoza, the imperialists may have to assassinate him, his son, his brother, his uncle, his entire family, and his main allies. They already did this to the entire family of former South Vietnamese dictator Diem when they thought it was necessary.

Death agony of dictatorship

It is up to revolutionary socialists to make all the efforts necessary to remove the obstacles blocking the mass struggle against the Somoza regime from assuming a clear class character.

To do this, it is necessary to struggle for the dissolution of the National Guard and the development of people's militias to defend the revolution against military attacks by imperialism. It is necessary to build the movement for a popularly elected, sovereign constituent assembly, in opposition to all the formulas for provisional governments worked out behind the backs of the masses.



Somoza's National Guard patrolling streets of Masaya.

The government that replaces Somoza must be a workers and peasants government, representing solely the interests of the oppressed. Only a government of this type will expropriate the landowners, distribute land to the peasants, and establish a monopoly on banking and foreign trade. Only such a government will expropriate not only Somoza's holdings, but also those of Alfredo Pellas and the Bank of America corporation, holdings of the financiers tied to the Julio Martinez consortium, Banic, and the gold mines in imperialist hands, such as the Bonanza and Siuna.

Only in this way will it be possible to rebuild over the ruins left behind by the dictatorship, provide housing and jobs for the entire population, and make a serious attempt to satisfy the social aspirations that are the moving force behind the anti-Somoza struggle.

While clearly taking the side of the Sandinista Front in the civil war, revolutionists base their strategy and political action on the independent action and organization of the masses, linking the anti-Somoza struggle to broader social demands that are felt by all the oppressed layers of the population.

Despite the apparent calm, forces are at work beneath the surface, preparing the way for the coming explosions of the Nicaraguan revolution. The Terceristas of the Sandinista Front, seeking to iron out the differences that emerged as a result of the offensive, are preparing for new spectacular actions along the same lines.

The masses are in a desperate situation and find themselves facing an increasingly weak and decaying regime. Imperialism is looking for and trying to impose alternatives without any guarantee of being able to find one in time. Somoza, for his part, is clinging to power, and carrying out a purge within the National Guard that cannot fail to cause fissures. The bourgeois opposition is at an impasse. There is no way for it to negotiate with the regime without losing prestige. At the same time, it is incapable of taking action against the regime without precipitating a movement that it would be incapable of controlling.

Imperialism is probing for an opening wherever it can find one, sparing no means or resources, and not shrinking from any criminal methods.

In spite of the slaughter during the dark days of September, the insufficient organization of the masses, and the crisis of revolutionary leadership, the Nicaraguan revolution is continuing its course.

September 24, 1978

'The Innocence of Joan Little'

The Innocence of Joan Little. A Southern Mystery. By James Reston, Jr. New York Times Books. New York. 340 pp. \$12.50. Cloth.

It has been nearly four years since Clarence Aligood was found dead in the Beaufort County, North Carolina, jail. It has been three years since Joan Little was acquitted of murder, although she continues to serve time on an earlier sentence.

Yet Little's ordeal is not over. Fearing for her life, she escaped from

Books

prison last year and made her way to New York City. But she was arrested there. And, after a lengthy court battle, Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey permitted her extradition back to North Carolina where the ordeal began.

The ugliness and vindictiveness of racism is nowhere clearer than in the case of Joan Little. She was put on trial for her life for daring to defend herself from rape by her white jailer.

Had she been a white woman being raped by a Black man, she would have been hailed as a saint of no less stature than Joan of Arc. Add to that the miserable and humiliating conditions women in prison face regardless of color, and you can easily see why Joan Little became a *cause célèbre*.

Little's story is told in this book through interviews with defense attorney Jerry Paul, two defense consultants, the sheriff and his deputy, the prosecuting attorney, a judge, and some defense activists.

Reston explains that he is preoccupied with the "impact of character upon events."

He tries to show how the personalities of the fifteen people interviewed in his book influenced the course of events.

But what he really shows is that it was the events of August 27, 1974, through August 14, 1975, that had a profound and altering effect on the attitude and lives of the fifteen people he interviewed—and the unchronicled thousands across the country who also played a role in the outcome of the case.

The actions of some of the very bland, lack-lustre individuals Reston discusses—although they were not altogether unimportant—were not the decisive factors in the trial verdict.

The thousands of people who protested in the streets on Little's behalf are what tipped the scales of justice in her favor.

The most interesting part of this book is the very real and sobering view it offers of the so-called New South.

The racist attitudes of Beaufort County residents in 1974 come across as though they haven't changed since 1874. Every comment about the morals of Blacks, without exception, is derogatory.

The living conditions of the Blacks in the "Back of Town" are unbelievably desperate.

And Beaufort County is no exception. The dire poverty and ever-present undercurrents of racial hatred are prevalent throughout the South—and have a northern translation as well.

The pivotal role Black women are destined to play in changing society was dramatically shown in the Joan



1975 New York rally for Joan Little

Militant/Lou Howort

Little case. The justice of her case brought together, if only for a moment, two of the most dynamic social movements of our times: the women's movement and the struggle of minorities.

But this fact goes over Reston's head. Instead he seems to be somewhat obsessed with trying to create doubt about Little's innocence.

Even though Reston says he "endeavored to relate both theories [of the death of Clarence Aligood] with equal passion," his objectivity is open to challenge. It's apparent that he identifies strongly with the area's white racist residents and has much respect for what he calls "the struggle of the south."

This is a classic case of turning the criminal into the victim. There's nothing heroic about "struggles" by

southern racists to whitewash their bloodstained past of lynchings, bombings, and brutality against Blacks.

Reston has few complimentary adjectives, however, for the Black residents of the area or the supporters of Joan Little.

Reston does, however, correct some of the most glaring instances of distortion or outright lying on the part of Sheriff Davis and a few others. The more subtle ones he lets slide.

On the whole, the book is worth the evening or so it takes to read it.

Even though the author failed to plant any doubt about Little's innocence in my mind, it is still quite interesting to hear from some participants that were not heard from in the media coverage of the case.

—Renita Alexander

'My Mother/Myself'

My Mother/Myself. By Nancy Friday. Delacorte Press. New York. 1977. 363 pages. \$9.95 cloth. \$2.50 paper.

Nancy Friday's *My Mother/Myself* is a truly devastating exposé of the mother/daughter relationship—that contradictory bond of genuine love on the one hand and lies, anger, frustration, and guilt on the other.

My Mother/Myself is not just another expanded research paper—although it is certainly loaded with interviews, facts, and figures. It is primarily a stark, naked exploration of the author's own relationship with her mother. Her exploration is fearless in scope—probing menstruation, masturbation, body image, competition, virginity, her attitude toward men, marriage, and childbearing.

Friday begins by explaining that she has always lied to her mother and her mother to her. No longer being able to afford this lie is what drove her to analyze this relationship.

Psychologically, in a nutshell, the author views the mother/daughter relationship as symbiotic—often to the point of suffocation.

Friday is dead right. I know how my parents tried to force their own values on me in order for me to "get ahead" or just plain survive. Among them were inequality, authority, competition, male and female stereotypes, and prejudice—to say nothing of medieval attitudes toward sex.

As I read Friday's painful recollections, I experienced an overwhelming sense of commonality



Kathe Kollwitz

with many of her emotions.

No doubt, upholders of the family system will try to dismiss Friday's work lightly and label her attitude toward her mother as disturbed or ungracious at best. I, for one, think it took great guts and maturity to journey back for the truth and then record it—no matter how awful it made her feel, no matter how ugly it was to record.

In articulating her feelings, Friday has done female victims of the family a great service. Thousands of women will identify with her feelings and then legitimize them, instead of guiltily rejecting them.

Unfortunately, Friday's contribution is strictly in the psychological realm. By limiting herself only to this science, her suggestion for improving the mother/daughter relationship becomes a little threadbare.

She urges mothers to try to "separate" from their daughters; to "hang loose," to break the symbiotic ties that bind them.

Friday doesn't see that the economics of the family situation determine and are the catalyst for the myriad psychological problems found in the mother/daughter relationship. Economic dependence makes the mother/daughter relationship symbiotic—partially strangling both.

The family system not only victimizes the daughter, but the mother, father, and other family members as well. They are all victims for a shared and singular reason: Society doesn't give a damn about any of them.

Each family must fend for itself and by itself. If you're born a Rockefeller it won't cause much tension—your mother won't be too anxious about your future. You *will* get ahead—at least eventually—when you inherit the family fortune.

But Nancy Friday's mother was one who did have to worry about fending for her family. When Friday was born, this became her mother's primary role—a role that consumed most of her time. There was no child care. There was no time for her mother to develop on her own. It's not surprising that their relationship was less than healthy. It's no wonder resentment, guilt, jealousy, and hate built up. They're unfortunately part and parcel of the family system.

Nancy Friday is not alone in what she feels. But she is a brave woman and one of the first to speak out about it.

—Jane Harris

Racists boycott Chi. schools

The second week of fall classes in Chicago saw a one-day boycott by white students at several schools. Dubbed "Operation Resist," the boycott was part of a continuing campaign to halt a voluntary busing program that allows a small number of Black students to escape overcrowded, segregated schools.

Only 1,700 Black students are involved in the voluntary busing plan.

Acts of vandalism against one elementary school accompanied the boycott. The school is used as a "basic skills center" in the city's Access to Excellence program, which is supposed to provide special facilities for students from a wide area.

Far from being a program for school desegregation, Access to Excellence is in fact a substitute for one.

Three Black members of the board of education and one white member have come out in opposition to Access to Excellence because it fails to deal with school segregation.

In a statement released to the press, Marie Cobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Illinois secretary of state, said, "The school system has deteriorated so far that only a comprehensive, mandatory busing transfer program in both directions, Black and white, involving schools in the city and the suburbs—along with a massive infusion of funds for education—can produce real improvement."

MORE ON VIEQUES SHELLING

Recently released U.S. Navy documents reveal that Vieques, an island off Puerto Rico used for naval target practice, is also part of an intelligence network that gathers information from all over Latin America. Carlos Zenon, president of the Vieques Fishermen's Association, described the documents to a Chicago audience October 3.

Zenon said that the documents also reveal a secret sale to the U.S. Navy of 2,500 acres of Vieques.

The island's 9,000 inhabitants are forced to live in a

narrow corridor in the middle of the island, while the navy blasts its east and west ends with artillery fire.

Unexploded shells in the water pose a constant threat to fishermen.

The navy's theft of Vieques's land has been the target of protests for several years. Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee representative Pat Holland announced at the Chicago meeting that actions were planned around the country October 28.

'LEGALIZED VIOLENCE'

The Los Angeles Board of Education voted October 9 to

allow corporal punishment again, ending a three-year ban.

Adopted as part of a new contract with the United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA), the corporal punishment provisions will be limited to students whose parents give

Klan holds pronuke rally

Sixty members and supporters of the Ku Klux Klan held a pro-nuclear power rally in Seabrook, New Hampshire, October 14. The construction site of a nuclear power plant in Seabrook has been the focus of a years-long battle. Last June 20,000 people demonstrated there against nuclear power.

Klan leader William Wilkinson declared that nuclear power would prevent United States dependence on "second- and third-class Middle Eastern nations."

Among the demonstrators were twelve members of the South Boston Marshals, a racist, antibusing outfit, who said they were also going to join the Klan in antibusing demonstrations in Boston.

A week earlier, about 450 antinuke demonstrators were arrested at the Black Fox nuclear power plant construction site in Inola, Oklahoma, and charged with trespassing.

Organized by the Sunbelt Alliance, the protest drew participants from Colorado, Texas, Arkansas, and Kansas.

In other nuclear news, the

Shad Alliance, a New York City-area antinuke group, designated a nuclear plant under construction at Shoreham, Long Island, as the target for an antinuke campaign.

The first major action of

the campaign is set for next June, to coincide with International Days of Protest called by European groups.

The Shad congress drew 125 participants from the entire downstate region of New York.



KKK Imperial Wizard William Wilkinson speaking to Klan's pronuke rally.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW 'BROTHER MALCOLM X: REMINISCENCE OF A BLACK REVOLUTIONARY.' A play by Frank Greenwood. Fri., Oct. 27, 7:30 p.m. Holman United Methodist Church, 3320 W. Adams Blvd. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

FLORIDA MIAMI

RALLY TO DEFEND LEO HARRIS. Speakers to be announced. Sun., Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m. Miami Dade Community College North Campus, Room 1121. NW 110th St. & 27th Ave. Ausp: Leo Harris Defense Committee. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE 'MILITANT.' Speakers: Harry Ring, former editor of the *Militant*; Pat Grogan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Sat., Nov. 11, dinner 6:30 p.m., rally 8 p.m. Shoe Workers Union Hall, 1632 N. Milwaukee. Donation: \$5 for dinner and rally, \$1.50 for rally only. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH MARYLAND? A SOCIALIST VIEW. Speaker: Sam Kolis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. Sun., Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

THE FIGHT FOR BLACK MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speaker: Drake Koka, founder and first secretary general of the Black Allied Workers

Union in South Africa. Thurs., Oct. 26, 8 p.m. Morgan State University, Jenkins 104. Ausp: Drake Koka Tour Committee. For more information call (301) 235-9523.

THREE MORE STATES . . . ON TO VICTORY FOR THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. Speaker: Toba Singer, chairperson of Maryland Socialist Workers Party and member of National Organization for Women. Sun., Oct. 29, 7:30 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

TAXES AND THE ELECTIONS: HOW TO TELL A REFORM FROM A SWINDLE. Speakers: Lisa Potash, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; others. Fri., Oct. 27, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA MESABI IRON RANGE

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY: 'WHY WE NEED A LABOR PARTY.' Speaker: Jill Lakowski, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Minnesota. Thurs., Oct. 26, 7:30 p.m. Carpenters Hall, 307 First St. North, Virginia. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (218) 741-4968.

MINNEAPOLIS MINNESOTA SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Hear the socialist candidates and others. Sat., Nov. 4, 7:30 p.m. 320 Coffman Union, Washington & Church sts., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis. Ausp: Minnesota 1978 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee & Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 825-6663 (Minneapolis) or (612) 222-8929 (St. Paul) or (218) 741-4968 (Eveleth).

ST. PAUL

THE 'WEBER' CASE: NEW THREAT TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. Speakers: Randy Staten, co-chaired the Minnesota Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision, founded Minnesota State Affirmative Action Association; Marc Shaver, member of United Steelworkers of America Local 7263, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Minnesota. Thurs., Oct. 26, 7:30 p.m. 373 University Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

THE FIGHT AGAINST CAMPUS COMPLICITY WITH APARTHEID: REPORT FROM MIDWEST CONFERENCE ON UNIVERSITY AND CORPORATE INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speakers: Linda Spence, vice-president of University of Missouri Kansas City Afro-American Student Union; Tracy Spellman, Kansas University Committee on South Africa and member of Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Oct. 27, 7:30 p.m. 4715-A Troost Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

CAMPUS DIVESTMENT AND THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA. A panel discussion on strategy. Speakers: John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; others. Fri., Oct. 27, 8 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Sharon Grant, SWP candidate for Congress, 14th C.D.; Hé-

ctor Marroquín, seeking political asylum in the United States; Dianne Feeley, SWP candidate for governor; Kevin Kellogg, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor; others. Sat., Oct. 21, reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m.; party, 10 p.m. Millbank Chapel, Columbia Teachers College, 525 W. 120th St. at Broadway (IRT local at 116th). Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (212) 982-5963.

NEW YORK

NYC: LOWER MANHATTAN REBELLION IN NICARAGUA. Speakers: Fred Murphy, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*; representative from Coalition for a Free Nicaragua. Fri., Oct. 27, 8 p.m. 7 Clinton St. (near Houston). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

NORTH CAROLINA RALEIGH

SHAH OF IRAN—MODERNIZER OR TYRANT? Speaker: Bijan Khezri, assistant national secretary of Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. Mon., Oct. 23, 7:30 p.m. Harrelson Hall 107, NC State Univ. Ausp: CAIFI & Viewpoint Speakers Bureau. For more information call (919) 834-8502.

CHAPEL HILL

SHAH OF IRAN—MODERNIZER OR TYRANT? Speaker: Bijan Khezri, assistant national secretary of Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. Tues., Oct. 24, 7:30 p.m. Hamilton Hall 351, UNC. Donation: \$1. Ausp: CAIFI & Viewpoint Speakers Bureau. For more information call (919) 834-8502.

OHIO CLEVELAND

CAMPAIGN EVENING: BRAZILIAN DINNER. Speakers: Pat Wright, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; John Gaige, SWP candidate for lieutenant

governor. Sun., Oct. 22, 5-9 p.m. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Ohio Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

NO NUKES: THE CASE AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER. Speakers: Jim Schwab, Western Reserve Alliance; representative from North Shore Alert. Sun., Oct. 29, 4 p.m. 13002 Kinsman. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

RIZZOISM: WHAT IT IS AND HOW TO FIGHT IT. Speaker: Jon Hillson, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 27, 8 p.m. 218 S. 45th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 387-2451.

POLITICAL REPRESSION. Speakers: Anne Sheppard Turner, Wilmington Ten; Héctor Marroquín, Mexican student activist seeking political asylum in United States; others. Sat., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. Tabernacle Church, 3700 Chestnut St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. For more information call (215) GR4-0937.

WASHINGTON TACOMA

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RECEPTION. Speaker: Mary Smith, SWP candidate for Congress. Sat., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. 902 S. 8th. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

THE RAILROAD CRISIS. Speaker: David McDonald, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 27, 7 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

outdated schools, and inadequate facilities—instead of allowing the board to pit teachers against students.

COURT OKAYS BENZENE EXPOSURE

A federal appeals court has struck down limits on worker exposure to the leukemia-causing chemical, benzene.

The chemical industry said it would cost \$500 million to comply with the limit of one part of benzene per million in the air, and complained that the possible benefits—that is, worker health—weren't worth it. The court agreed.

The court also tossed out a rule forbidding all skin contact with liquid benzene, declaring the regulation to be based on old and inconclusive data.

The ruling could expose some 600,000 workers to a greater risk of cancer.

SCHOOL COSTS RISE

The average cost of a year of school at a public college this year will be \$2,221, up 7.8 percent from last year. For students going to out-of-state public campuses, the average tab will be \$3,406, up 5.74 percent. The figures come from the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges.

Quote unquote

"My own belief is that the shah has moved aggressively to establish democratic principles in Iran and to have a progressive attitude toward social questions. This has been the source of much of the opposition to him in Iran."

—Jimmy Carter.

ARCHBISHOP OPPOSES ANTIGAY MEASURE

Catholic Archbishop John Quinn of San Francisco has issued a statement opposing California's Proposition 6, which would drive gays and lesbians out of the state's public school system.

Quinn, who is head of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, said that Proposition 6, if passed, "would tend to violate, and would wrongly limit the civil rights of homosexual persons."

Quinn said that even though the Catholic church opposes homosexual activity, homosexuals "should not suffer from prejudice against their basic human rights."

Iran empress not welcome

Student protests at Syracuse University have forced the College of Human Development to back down from awarding an honorary degree to Empress Farah of Iran, wife of the shah.

"She is part of a ruling group that has put its people under suppression and repression," said one Iranian student.

In a letter to the campus paper, the Iranian Student Organization explained, "This honorary degree is proposed by an institution of higher learning in a democratic country while in Iran all academic institutions are shut down and occupied by the Shah's army."

The campus paper ran a statement from the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, describing the fierce repression used by the shah to quell recent demonstrations against his dictatorial rule. It also ran an excerpt from a 1976 article by Iranian poet



Iran's Empress Farah: not welcome at Syracuse University.

Reza Baraheni, describing fiendish tortures in the shah's jails.

Honorary degree committee chairman Thadeus Janowski admitted that financial considerations played a big role in the school's choice of recipients. The Iranian rulers have been known to buy friends.

Libros en español

<i>Alienación y Emancipación del Proletariado</i> por Mandel	\$3.25
<i>Democracia y Revolución</i> por Novack	3.50
<i>El Programa de Transición</i> por Trotsky	2.75
<i>Imperialismo, Fase Superior del Capitalismo</i> por Lenin	1.00
<i>Introducción a la Teoría Económica Marxista</i> por Mandel	1.45
<i>Marxismo y Feminismo</i> por Waters	2.95
<i>Manifiesto del Partido Comunista</i> por Marx y Engels	.75
<i>Sobre el Derecho de las Naciones a la Autodeterminación</i> por Lenin	.50
<i>Trabajo Asalariado y Capital</i> por Marx	.50

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Include \$.50 postage for orders under \$5; \$.75 for orders between \$5 and \$10.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Think you've heard everything?—

We can see it now: Exxon U—Readin', writin' and refinin'. It used to be UCLA. But University of California regents recently authorized a study to permit drilling for oil and gas on the campus. Three major oil companies are interested, and Chevron says the university could draw as much as \$3 million a year in royalties.

Start watching the watchman?—

The FBI says it intends to leave street crime more to local authorities so it can begin focusing on white collar crime. Great! Like illegal wire taps and mail covers? Infiltration and provocation? Maybe even political frame-ups and assassinations?

A regular josh—Governor Brown of California, who froze the wages of state employees this year, told a group of state hospital workers that if he were reelected, they would all get raises next year.

Garage sale—Nelson Rockefeller

cleared out some bric-a-brac from three of his homes. A glass vase was auctioned for \$3,000, a mahogany clock brought another \$7,000, and two seventeenth century Chinese chairs went for \$13,000. That probably means there'll be meat on the table again.

Employment on rise—Those concerned by the recent increase in the jobless rate should be cheered to know that this is not true of all sectors of the economy. For instance, researchers report that in the third quarter of 1978, corporations hired 46 percent more executives than they did in the comparable 1977 period.

Tired of the old tub?—Southern California interior designers are pushing posh bathrooms. Some of the fixtures do require a small outlay. Like a formica sink—looks just like brushed aluminum—for \$1,950, plus \$1,800 for a chrome-trimmed faucet. Smaller items are more modest. Like towel rings for \$75 and hooks for \$11.40 apiece. If you use soap, there's a dish for \$22.

Union Talk

Between layoff and death

This week's column is by Phil Norris, a member of District 751 of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM), which organizes most of the production workers at Boeing Aerospace Company.

TACOMA—"Dicks Stands Up For Boeing Defense Jobs" was the headline of an article in the *Aero-Mechanic*, newspaper of IAM District 751. It refers to Norm Dicks, Democratic congressman from Washington's Sixth District, who is up for reelection this year. The IAM has endorsed Dicks as a "friend of labor."

The article quotes from a speech Dicks gave before Congress in favor of the 1979 "defense" spending bill. This bill provides for the largest sum of money ever to be spent for human destruction—more than \$116 billion.

Dicks is quoted as speaking in favor of the Air Launch Cruise Missile (ALCM), the Roland missile, and other weapon systems that Boeing has an interest in. Earlier this year, Dicks voted in favor of the neutron bomb, that perfect capitalist weapon that destroys only people and leaves property intact. The ALCM is being designed specifically to carry the neutron bomb.

While the leadership of District 751 is supporting Dicks for the position of "congressman from Boeing," IAM President William Winpisinger has publicly expressed a different view on war spending.

The September 3 *Tacoma News Tribune* quotes Winpisinger: "I would hate to think that the members of our union who are now engaged in the many facets of military production would have to depend forever on world terror in order to survive as an economic unit. . . . Put simply, sometimes self-interest has to take a back seat to what's right, especially if the choice is between a layoff and a death."

The Auburn complex where I work does a large amount of the machine work for

Boeing's war contracts. War spending is often a topic of conversation. More and more people I work with are beginning to question this useless spending, although some still support the war budget on the ground that the United States needs more "defense." Even most of the people who dislike the idea of building bombs and missiles see the war budget as a job. They are open to the idea, however, that our skills and the high level of technology at our disposal should be used for production for human needs—such as mass transportation and non-nuclear power sources.

Workers at Boeing are aware of serious shortages in these areas, which they could fill. They are beginning to realize that it is not "a choice between a layoff and a death," but rather a choice between production for human destruction and production for human needs.

Winpisinger's mild stand against the war budget has yet to be reflected in the political strategy of the IAM, as District 751's endorsement of Dicks indicates. The IAM is still supporting the Democrats and Republicans who vote through these inflationary and murderous policies.

There is one candidate running against Dicks in the Sixth District who is opposed to the war budget. Socialist Workers Party candidate Mary Smith works at Boeing's Auburn plant and is a member of IAM District 751.

"Workers in any industry, whether it's aerospace, shipbuilding, or electronics, have absolutely nothing to gain by the government's huge war budget," Smith says.

"The superprofits that companies like Boeing make off the war budget could be better used to build schools, hospitals, and day-care centers around the country; these are things that the workers of this country can use and need.

"If you agree that the war budget should be eliminated in favor of spending for human needs, then you should vote socialist in November's election."

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

The Suez invasion

In October 1956, France, Britain, and Israel carried out a joint invasion against Egypt. France and Britain wanted to reclaim the Suez Canal, nationalized by Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasser earlier that year, and if possible to install a more servile leader in Nasser's place. The Israeli regime then, as in 1967, sought control of the Sinai Peninsula and identified its interests with imperialist domination of the Arab world.

The 'Militant,' as always, gave unflinching support to the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab masses. The following editorial, titled 'World Labor Must Support Egypt,' appeared on the front page of the November 5, 1956, 'Militant.'

All the recent capitalist propaganda about Western imperialism and colonialism being a thing of the past, a phenomenon of the 19th Century, has gone down the drain with the invasion of Egypt. There is nothing in the last century's long list of colonial wars and imperialist land-grabbing that is any cruder than the current British-French-Israeli war against Egypt.

The facts are plain: British and French imperialism in collusion with the Israeli government made plans for an armed attack on Egypt. British and French forces were concentrated on the nearby island of Cyprus which Britain holds only by a reign of terror. Israel began a total military mobilization. When everything was ready the Israeli army invaded Egypt, heading toward Suez.

Quickly Britain and France declared that shipping in the Suez Canal was endangered by the hostilities and issued a 24-hour ultimatum that the Egyptians withdraw ten miles behind the canal while British and French troops took it over to "protect shipping." Israel quickly "accepted" the British-French ultimatum which would give it possession of the whole of Egypt's oil-rich Sinai peninsula. Egypt refused and appealed in vain to the United Nations. Thereupon Britain and France began bombing Egypt and rushing troops to the area.

The brutal aggression against Egypt and the slaughter that the imperialists have begun is motivated by imperialism's desire not only to control the profitable Suez Canal but to smash the mounting national independence movement of the

Arab people which has been inspired by Egypt's nationalization of Suez.

The policy of the capitalist class which governs Israel is nothing less than criminal folly. Israel is an island of less than two million Jews surrounded by an ocean of 60 million Arabs yearning for freedom and progress. Yet in pursuit of territorial aggrandizement Ben Gurion and his fellow capitalists opposed the freedom struggle of the Arabs in North Africa and now do the dirty work of French and British imperialism against Egypt. Such a blind, reactionary policy can convert Israel into a death trap for the Jews who have sought refuge there.

Jewish workers in Israel and in the U.S. should, in justice to the struggle of the Arab people for independence from imperialism and in the interest of the people of Israel, do all in their power to repudiate the disastrous policy of Israel's insane capitalist politicians.

U.S. imperialism's non-participation in the invasion of Egypt should neither lull American workers to the danger of military involvement nor to U.S. responsibility for the invasion.

Eisenhower's television speech (Oct. 31) promising that the U.S. would not be militarily involved is not to be trusted. His promise carried a built-in escape clause. It was qualified by "in the circumstances I have described" and "these present hostilities." There is no guarantee of non-involvement if the "circumstances" change or if the "present hostilities" give way to a general war of all the Arab nations in defense of Egypt.

Eisenhower's statement was "neutral" on the side of British-French imperialism. He went out of his way to declare that they had "the manifest right" to invade Egypt. As the New York Times (Nov. 1) reported: "The President's long discussion of the Middle East crisis appeared designed in part to explain, if not to justify, the attacks on Egypt by the three powers."

The fact is that American financial and armaments aid, as in the case of the French war against the Algerian people, alone makes possible the British-French war against Egypt. American workers should demand that U.S. imperialism immediately cease subsidizing the attack upon the Egyptian people and that the U.S. Sixth Fleet, with its 20,000 sailors and marines, be immediately brought home from the Mediterranean.



Public workers

I agree with much of what is printed in the *Militant*, even though I do not consider myself a socialist.

However, there are some aspects of your reporting, which I assume is part of your political strategy, with which I strongly disagree. You appear to believe that America is composed of two groups or classes, the capitalists and the workers. You further appear to believe that the workers have a common interest, and that government employees are part of this workers group or class. I could not disagree with you more.

At no time do I consider the interests of government employees as consistent with my interests. I am not a government employee. I am with the workers who toil in commerce, industry, and agriculture. In other words, those who work to pay the bills for the excesses of government employees, which include elected officials.

The interests of government employees is to squeeze those who work in commerce, industry, and agriculture for as much as they can for as long as they can. Government employees have become a particularly virulent form of overhead. My firsthand experience with government employees is that, for the most part, they are arrogant, insolent, lazy, and probably incompetent. It can also be argued that these insatiable government employees are one of several means by which the capitalists hope to reduce the people to economic/political slavery. Government employees are the infrastructure that keeps the Democratic and Republican parties in power, while at the same time they serve as a pretext for draining away the people's wealth.

Since I assume your goal is to form a mass political party and be elected to power, I consider your wooing of government employees a serious, if not fatal, defect in your strategy. I am convinced you must choose between those who toil in commerce, industry, and agriculture (tax payers) and government employees (tax spenders).

Isaac Fernandez
Newark, Delaware

[In reply—The *Militant* strongly disagrees. Government employees are a large and important part of the working class. Their numbers range at about 15 million—16 percent of the entire work force.

[Fernandez incorrectly puts an equal sign between Democratic and Republican politicians and top-level bureaucrats on the one hand, and—on the other hand—millions of service and maintenance workers, white-collar clerical workers, transit workers, janitorial workers, teachers, and secretaries.

[The fact that these co-workers have found a job in city, state, or federal governments in no way means that their interests are in common with those of their bosses. Any more than an auto worker

Letters

has common interests with Henry Ford II.

[In fact, their bosses—from the Carter administration down to city councils and school boards—are all in collusion to force cutbacks and layoffs on public employees and on all working people.

[But these politicians seek to take the heat off themselves by blaming government employees for the mess the government has made of things. Cutbacks and rising taxes are blamed on teachers who want smaller class sizes, transit workers who want wage increases to meet rising prices. Meanwhile, big business gets away with tax bonanzas such as California's Prop 13. The stinginess of these profiteers is the real cause of declining public services.

[Our job is to work side-by-side with government employees to expose the true culprits of the attacks on our standard of living—the banks and corporations working hand-in-glove with their political representatives in government.

[Public employees have a common goal with all working people—a government and society that functions in the interests of working people, not the rich.]

Making of a top cop

Recently the Minneapolis *Tribune* ran a series on the game of musical chairs that always takes place when a new mayor is elected here. A new chief of police and new heads for the various divisions are chosen from those cops who campaigned for the new mayor. They replace those who were unfortunate enough to back the candidate who lost. In some cases someone with the rank of "patrolman" will be placed as supervisor over sergeants and lieutenants.

Considering the possible soft jobs and big wage increases, the cops tend to get drawn into ward-heeling politics in ever greater numbers. Over time this has gradually made the department top heavy with cops in supervisory positions. The recently defeated right-wing mayor had been president of the Police Federation. The Democratic victor cleaned out the top spots in the department with a vengeance to make room for his campaign workers.

The tac squad is an example of some of the things that can happen. During the Vietnam War there developed widespread indignation over this unit's unrestrained brutality to a massive antiwar demonstration, which included dropping tear gas from a helicopter on school kids in their playground.

Amid massive revulsion over its activities and caught in the department's push and pull, the tactical squad had to be disbanded and reborn with a new name and image. In an effort to be "down to earth" and seek "grass roots" appeal, it was named SOD (Special Operations Division).

In the subsequent antiwar

Learning About Socialism

Why run in elections?

demonstrations and the Black community confrontations, SOD got a bad name for its "insensitivity." Also, the muddy waters of Minneapolis's capitalist politics, which engulfed the police department, rendered SOD and made a mess of it.

So it was disbanded and reborn again. SOD seemed to be a bad name anyway. It was composed, quality-wise and in its training, of the top men in the department. So what better name than SCUM (Street Crimes Unit of Minneapolis).

Charles Scheer
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Sales on the job

Enclosed is a subscription to the *Militant* that was sold on the job. This new subscriber is a Black diesetter, very interested in socialist ideas. He bought single copies two weeks in a row, then bought a sub. A reader
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Prop 13 cutbacks

Following is a list of calculations prepared by the University of California Housing Office comparing rentals before and after passage of Proposition 13. Over the period from August 1977 to August 1978, the cost of renting a one-bedroom apartment has risen 7.5 percent. The cost of renting a two-bedroom apartment jumped 5.8 percent, while renting a house rose between 7 and 8 percent per month over that period.

In the city of Albany, California, the school district has no librarian, has increased the cost of lunches from fifty-five to seventy cents, and has assigned the principal to teach 40 percent of his time.

While none of these facts are surprising, they certainly confirm who is bearing the burden of this tax swindle. Sherry Finer
Berkeley, California

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

CORRECTION

Through an editing error in last week's story, "Canadian steelworkers shut down Inco mines," Dave Patterson was incorrectly identified. Patterson is president of United Steelworkers Local 6500, which represents the 12,000 striking Inco workers.

Elections are times of heightened political awareness among working people, although many end up not voting because none of the capitalist candidates offers a meaningful alternative.

Attention is focused on the questions of who should govern and how should the country be run? It is a time when capitalist politicians try to convince us that their programs and records are in the interests of working people. And it is a time when this lie can be challenged.

That's why representatives of the Socialist Workers Party will be on the ballot in about thirty states this fall.

Because of the support given to capitalist parties by the present misleaders of the Black and labor movements—and also because of unfair ballot and equal-time provisions aimed at maintaining a capitalist-party political monopoly—socialists won't win any elections this year, or roll up a massive vote. So it's not unusual for socialist candidates to be asked, "Why do you bother to run when you don't stand a chance? And what difference would it make if you *were* elected?"

The answer is rooted in the basic goals of SWP election campaigns. Unlike the typical Republican or Democratic office-seekers, SWP candidates aren't trying to forge careers or get rich. They are working people who see elections as an opportunity to reach other working people with the truth about how this country is misruled by the capitalists and their political agents.

SWP candidates want to persuade union members, Blacks, Chicanos, women, and other oppressed people to break with the Republican and Democratic parties and follow a course of independent working-class political action. They want to win adherents to socialist ideas and build a working-class party in opposition to the Republicans and Democrats.

If progress is made toward these goals in an election campaign, socialists regard the outcome as a victory, whether or not their candidate is elected.

Unlike the SWP, groups such as the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee are buried in the Democratic Party. The Communist Party has been running more candidates lately, but uses these campaigns to advance its basic policy of backing liberal Democrats. And sectarian outfits such as the Revolutionary Communist Party simply sit the elections out, limiting themselves to an occasional denunciation of the "electoral farce."

In contrast to all these, the SWP's practice is in the tradition upheld by the revolutionary socialist movement from the time of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. As long as socialists were unable to lead the masses to replace the old order, they presented a working-class alternative in capitalist elections.

Frederick Engels wrote in 1895 that election campaigns "provided us with a means, second to none, of getting in touch with the masses of people where they still stand aloof from us; of forcing all parties to defend their views and actions against our attacks before all the people; and, further, it provided our representatives in the Reichstag [the German legislature] with a platform from which they could speak to their opponents in Parliament and to the masses without. . . ."

In tsarist Russia the Bolshevik Party under Lenin used election campaigns to explain the Bolshevik program, expose tsarist crimes, and strengthen struggles of the workers and peasants. Election campaigns helped build the party that led the socialist revolution in 1917.

While socialists aren't going to win elections in 1978, that won't always be the case. Capitalism's inability to provide decent living standards, equality, and peace is going to make hundreds of thousands of workers look for a socialist alternative. When that happens, socialists will start winning some elections, despite the rulers' efforts to block this. But that will not change the fundamental approach of the SWP.

Unlike capitalist politicians, SWP candidates don't tell women, Blacks, or workers, "Help me get elected and I will solve your problems."

SWP candidates use their campaigns to build struggles against oppression. When the U.S. invaded Vietnam, SWP candidates threw their efforts into exposing the brutal U.S. assault and supporting the massive antiwar actions. When the miners' strike broke out last December, SWP campaigners helped build solidarity meetings and picket lines. Later they helped win union and community support for the July 9 demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment organized by the National Organization for Women.

SWP members in Congress or the state houses will be under no illusion that the fundamental issues facing society are decided by who voters endorse on election day.

The capitalist rulers don't allow the hopes and the interests of most voters to guide policy, because they are a small minority with interests opposed to those of the working-class majority.

SWP candidates who win elections will use their offices to inspire the oppressed with confidence in their own power, organizing them to bring their superior numbers to bear in mass actions for their own interests. They will seek to educate working people in the basic ideas of socialism and to recruit them to the revolutionary socialist party.

For the SWP, election campaigns and elected offices are not ends in themselves, but one means of preparing working people for the gigantic mass struggles that will be needed to create a new and better world.

—Fred Feldman

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Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 314 E. Taylor. Zip: 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Zip: 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347. Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Zip: 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404. Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Los Angeles, Southeast: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park, 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342. COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

DELAWARE: Newark: YSA, c/o Stephen Krevisky, 638 Lehigh Rd. M4. Zip: 19711. Tel: (302) 368-1394.

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GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

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MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland. Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton 01027. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway. Zip: 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, P.O. Box 343, Eveleth, Minn. Zip: 55734. Tel: (218) 741-4968. Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

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NEBRASKA: Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

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NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, c/o Andy Towbin, Box 7120, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Avenue. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Bronx: SWP, 2271 Morris Ave. Zip: 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 7 Clinton St. Zip: 10002. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. Zip: 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 786 Amsterdam. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

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WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

Interview with Donald Woods

So. Africa: 'Race laws worst since Hitler'

By Jon Hillson

On October 2, I spent the better part of a day with Donald Woods, the exiled South African journalist, former editor of the *Daily Dispatch*, and friend and biographer of Steve Biko.

Biko, a founding leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, was one of the most prominent opponents of the racist apartheid regime. On September 12, 1977, while being held in prison, he was murdered by South African authorities.

The following is based on my conversations with Woods and his speech that night to students at the University of Delaware.

* * *

On the evening of December 29, 1977, Donald Woods was huddled in a ball on the floor of his car.

His whitish hair was dyed grey. It was part of a disguise so effective he hadn't recognized himself in the mirror.

He was scared to death.

He was about to break the banning order imposed on him by the South African government, an order that prohibited his movement outside the borders of East London.

His wife Wendy was at the wheel. The plan was to make it appear that she was alone so Woods would be able to slip by agents of the Bureau of State Security posted outside their house.

Capture would mean an automatic five-year prison term.

And maybe more.

Once outside East London, Woods hitch-hiked to Lesotho, a small, independent Black nation surrounded by South Africa. Hours later, the escape was completed when Wendy Woods and the couple's five children also made it out of the country.

Donald Woods is white.

His English and Irish forebears settled in South Africa five generations ago.

Woods loves the land now called South Africa. But he hates apartheid.

He wants to return, to live under "a truly democratic government.

"Obviously," Woods says, "that would be a Black government," based on Black majority rule.

Black struggle is 'total'

The installation of Pieter Botha as the new prime minister, with his predecessor, John Vorster, assuming the traditionally ceremonial role of president, indicates no change for the ruling Afrikaner white supremacist party, Woods explains.

Botha was defense minister during the 1975 South African invasion of Angola. This invasion was turned back by Angolan MPLA freedom fighters, with decisive aid from Cuban troops.

The South African whites "really do not understand how deep the anger and hatred of the Black population is for apartheid, for the government," Woods says.

Steve Biko's funeral was attended by 20,000 mourners. "It would have been 150,000—if the police had not scattered people," Woods says.

A wave of bannings, detentions, and arrests followed. Woods was snared in the process. Virtually all significant legal opposition to the government was driven underground.

Despite this, Woods says, if there was an outburst in the Black population now, "the whole community would join in, I am completely convinced. The Black people are beginning to understand their power. The spontaneous protest would be enormous."

Despite the absence of formal governmental censorship of the media, Woods says, the threat of banning and detention is so great that editors and journalists who oppose apartheid "impose self-censorship. It is practically impossible to publish anti-apartheid newspapers today."

Television in South Africa is run by the state.

By digging its heels in, the racist government has put a peaceful or negotiated settlement "virtually out of



Racist regime denies all basic rights to the Black majority

reach." The responsibility for violence belongs to the apartheid regime Woods says, which "kills with bullets and malnutrition."

"I am what you could call an 'old fashioned liberal,'" Woods says, "a 'Hubert Humphrey liberal.' But with a big difference. My liberalism was conditioned by Steve Biko."

This process jarred Woods's once-comfortable liberal opposition to apartheid. He came to understand that Black pride was not "reverse racism." That the Black freedom struggle was total, affecting all spheres of Black and white life in South Africa. And that such a struggle would be led by Blacks.

Cartér 'disappointing'

"American corporations pay Black workers \$76 million a year in wages," Woods says. "But they pay the Vorster government \$200 million a year in taxes. That goes to buy tanks and guns and planes to maintain the oppression of Black people."

Woods points out that the wage differential between whites and Blacks in South Africa "ranges as high as twenty-six to one."

Woods considers the forty-campus lecture swing he is making this fall and winter to be part of a growing national campaign demanding an end to all American investments in South Africa—particularly by colleges owning stock in offending companies.

He denies the claim made by foes of such divestiture that it would produce job losses for Black people.

The jobs-loss argument has "been rejected by all the authentic Black

leaders in South Africa for twenty years. They say, 'Help us, not our oppressors.'"

The record of the Carter administration on Africa is "disappointing," Woods says. The U.S. government is "making the same mistake in South Africa that it made in Angola and Vietnam."

But Woods says he has hope for Carter, that the president "believes in Black majority rule."

I mention Biko's warning to Woods about the difference between words and deeds. He agrees that something is wrong, perhaps bad advisers in the White House.

The veto of economic sanctions against South Africa by Carter's United Nations representative Andrew Young was "appalling."

Woods wonders why the U.S. Congress is "strangely silent on South Africa."

Israel's 'Arab Transkei'

In 1967, Woods was an official guest in Israel. He went there "almost as a fanatic supporter" of Zionism.

He left "with some nagging doubts at the back of my mind."

Israeli attitudes towards Arabs were something like white South African prejudices towards Blacks, he thought.

Now he says, "Military and economic ties between Israel and South Africa are growing stronger."

The meaning of this relationship came home to him two years ago, when Vorster was invited to Israel to commemorate Hitler's genocidal slaughter of European Jews.

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Donald Woods reads report of his banning by South African regime